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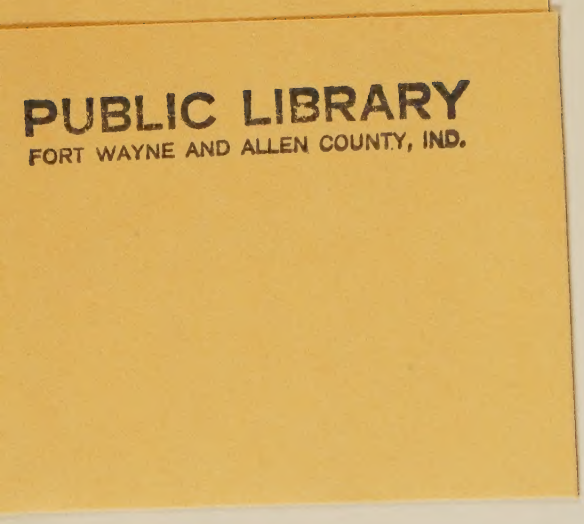


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Jas. Lindsay

# HISTORY

OF THE

# SCOTTISH CHURCH

BY

W. STEPHEN

RECTOR OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S, DUNBARTON

V. 2, Pt. 1.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

# SCOTTISH CHURCH

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# PREFACE

THE author has much reason to be gratified with the criticisms of the press on the first volume of his history. His statement in the preface that he did not profess to be "colourless in his opinions," was interpreted by some critics as an admission that he had written in the spirit and with the design of a partisan. He submits that the words were susceptible of a different interpretation. The writer of Church history, who is aware of his own bias in things ecclesiastical, is the more likely to be on his guard against it, and to steer an even course between divergent lines of historical representation.

This has been his honest endeavour in the second volume as in the first. But as the modern period, now brought under review, bristles with controversial matter over which historians have disputed from the Reformation downwards, he has no very sanguine expectation that his treatment of it will escape the charge of partisanship from extreme men of any school. To succeed in satisfying such as are themselves partisans would assuredly be the clearest proof of partisanship.

The author desires to express his obligations to the Rev. George Sutherland, Portsoy, the Rev. J. C. Barry,

Dunbarton, the Rev. Canon Low, Largs, for careful revision of the MS.; and to the Rev. Canon Wilson, Edinburgh, and the Rev. J. Wiseman, Aberdeen, for no less careful correction of proofs. He has also to thank the Most Rev. Primus, Dr. Jermyn, Bishop of Brechin, for permission to examine the MS. Register College of Bishops, and for valuable assistance F. T. Barrett, Esq., Mitchell Library; Wm. Simpson, Esq., Baillie Library; W. J. S. Patterson, Esq., Stirling's Library; John Muir, Esq., the Faculty Library, all in Glasgow: also T. G. Law, Esq., Signet Library; J. T. Clark, Esq., Advocates' Library; J. Taylor Brown, Esq., Antiquaries' Library, Edinburgh; the Rev. D. H. Brown, Brechin Diocesan Library, the several diocesan synod clerks, and Mr. Joseph Craig, Dunbarton, for his services in copying the MS. of both volumes, and for aid in compiling the index.

Among many private friends whom the author has to thank for the use of their libraries, he would mention the Rev. George Grub, Ayr, for the favour of Dr. Grub's interleaved copy of the later volumes of his history. He would also place on record his indebtedness, especially in this second volume, to the work of Dr. Grub, that most learned, accurate, and conscientious of historians.

Besides a list of Authorities cited in the second volume, and the correction of several *errata* in the first, there is now added a complete index to both volumes.

St. Augustine's, Dunbarton,
*Whitsuntide*, 1896.

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# CHAPTER I

## REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, 1560

Contrast between the Reformations in Scotland and in England—The ministry of the Scottish Reformers neither Episcopal nor Presbyterial—The first provisional Protestant Church—The first Confession of Faith, 1560—The First Book of Discipline—Knox's Book of Common Order—The ecclesiastical polity of the first Reformers—The necessity of Reformation—The lines on which it proceeded in 1560.

THE abolition of the papal jurisdiction by the Parliament of August 1560 was the crisis of the Reformation in Scotland. For some years before and after this date the reforming movement was at work; but the Act of Parliament marks the dividing line. The Anglican Church had renounced the supremacy of the pope about twenty years earlier, and the connection which had lasted for nearly a thousand years between England and Rome was then finally severed. For about half this period the Scottish Church had been subject to the Papal See, and more Roman in character than the Anglican Church. England was sufficiently strong to resist the encroachments of the papacy upon its rights and liberties, and often asserted its independence; Scotland, as the weaker country, was less able to resist the pressure of the Papal See.

What the condition of the Scottish Church was at the

close of its connection with Rome has already been told. The sudden and complete collapse of the old hierarchy, without so much as a word spoken or a blow delivered in its defence, shows how thoroughly the Church was undermined by abuses and corruption. No other explanation can account for a religious revolution unequalled in our ecclesiastical annals.

The Reformations in Scotland and in England present few features in common. In England the movement was earlier; and English statesmen rendered no small service to the Reformers in Scotland. Indeed, without aid, moral and material, from queen Elizabeth and her advisers, the Scottish Reformation would not have been accomplished in the year 1560. Again, the English Reformation owed its first impulse to the sovereign Henry VIII. The movement in Scotland was, from beginning to end, largely the work of the Scottish nobles. No impartial historian will vouch that the motives of the sovereign in the one case, or of the nobles in the other, were above suspicion. But if the Church had not been ripe for reform in both countries, the movement, like others that preceded it, would have proved abortive. Even the papal see, by the disciplinary canons of the Council of Trent, admitted the necessity of reform.

In another respect the reforming policy of the two kingdoms presents a marked contrast. In England there was no break in the ministerial succession. The English Act of 1543 speaks of establishing "a form of pure and sincere teaching agreeable to God's Word, and the true doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church." With few exceptions, said to be less than two per cent, the clergy continued their offices in the reformed Catholic Church of England, and the bishops exercised their functions of ordination and government after the rejection of

papal supremacy exactly as they had done before. Not until the year 1570, when pope Pius V. published his deposing Bull, did the Roman See set up a separate communion. The historic continuity was with the National Church and not with the Roman schism, which historically formed the first dissenting community in England.

In Scotland the Reformation, almost of necessity, took a different shape. On the one hand, the old hierarchy was by parliamentary statute swept away; on the other, by silence and inaction, cowardly or compulsory, as the case may have been, the bishops virtually abdicated their place in the national Church. The ministerial continuity was broken, and restored in name only, not in substance, under the titular episcopate. Some of the Roman bishops, as will be seen, attempted desultory action for a few years, and occasionally exercised their functions, but their efforts were isolated and futile.

The ministry set up by the Reformers was an entirely new creation, professing no historic connection with the past, disowning even the laying on of hands, the outward act of ordination. The new system was not Episcopal, for it parted with the episcopate; it was not Presbyterial, not being based on parity, but on disparity of rank and office. It was a provisional Protestant Church which might as readily have developed into Episcopacy as into Presbytery, and as a matter of fact it oscillated for a time between the two. For its future shape as a Presbyterian Church in 1592 it was indebted to the political combinations of the time and the energy of Andrew Melville. Maitland of Lethington, the leading layman of the first Reformation, laboured strenuously, as much on political as on ecclesiastical grounds, to have Episcopacy established in Scotland as it was in England, in order to secure a permanent alliance between the two

countries. This alliance was his leading object after the crisis of 1560; but the fanaticism of his reforming allies, headed by Knox, and the untoward political complications of the time, baffled even the diplomatic skill of Maitland.

In its attitude towards the Roman Church, the new religion, transitional in character, was Protestant to the core. For a creed, it framed the First Confession of Faith; for a form of ecclesiastical polity, the First Book of Discipline; and for a Liturgy, Knox's Book of Common Order, commonly known as the Order of Geneva.

The Confession of Faith was the recognised standard of the Protestant Church from 1560 to 1647, when it was superseded by the Westminster Confession, more Calvinistic and rigid in doctrine. The First Confession was compiled by six well-known Reformers who all bore the Christian name of John,—Winram, Knox, Spottiswoode, Willock, Row, and Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrews, the last adding his name after its compilation. It consists of twenty-five chapters, setting forth first, the evangelical doctrines as to God's own Being and His relations to man, and then describing the Catholic Church as containing the elect of all nations, and being an invisible body, known only to God. The notes of the visible Church are the preaching of the Word, the right ministration of the sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline faithfully administered. Controversies as to the faith are to be settled by authority of Scripture alone; and the decrees of General Councils are to be received with caution. Touching Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which are declared to be the only sacraments of the Church, censure is passed upon such as affirm that they are nothing but naked and bare signs.[1]

[1] Knox, *Hist.* pp. 252-272; Grub, ii. 89, 91.

The moderation of the Confession is remarkable considering the controversial alembic out of which it came, and the theological temperament of the age. It owed something of its conciliatory tone to Winram, who had a hand also in archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, and has thus left the marks of his moderation upon both productions, the last of the old vintage and the first of the new.[1]

The same compilers prepared the First Book of Discipline, which was completed in May 1560, and submitted to a Convention of nobles at Edinburgh in January 1561. It met with a different reception from the Confession of Faith. Many of the nobles were ready to sign Confessions, but were not prepared to accept a code of discipline which sought, among other objects, to restore the Church properties to the Reformed. There were present at the Convention thirty-three barons and ex-prelates, several of whom subscribed the Book of Discipline, but with the significant proviso that bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed persons who had joined "the Congregation," the name now adopted by the Reformed, should enjoy their ecclesiastical revenues during their lifetime on condition of assisting to maintain the new Protestant ministry. The vested interests of the old hierarchy were thus secured, though its officials had ceased to discharge any clerical duties; but the ministers of the new religion were left in a condition of respectable beggary.[2]

[1] This has exposed Winram to the charge of trimming made by some writers (see Principal Lee, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* i. 32, 88-90). So highly did Edward Irving esteem the First Confession on its own merits, and still more in comparison with the Westminster Confession, that he read it twice a year to his congregation in London.

[2] Spottiswoode, *Hist.* i. 373, remarks that the pledge to sustain the ministers "turned to no effect, for the churchmen that were popish took presently a course to make away all the manses, glebes, tithes, and all

The Book of Discipline is divided into nine heads.[1] The first treats of doctrine and the preaching of the gospel, by which is meant the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The festivals of the Church, including Christmas, Easter, etc., as also Saints' days and fasting days are "utterly abolished from this realm"; and it affirms further that "the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate."

The second head relates to the two sacraments,—Baptism, in which water only is to be used (to the exclusion of salt, etc.) and the Lord's Supper, in which sitting at the table is prescribed after the example of Christ and His disciples.[2] The Order of Geneva, it proceeds to say, which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how both these sacraments may be rightly administered; but further instructions are added, deviations from which "ought to be severely punished."

The third head concerns "the abolishing of idolatry," and required "abbeys, chapels, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than such as are presently parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling-houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted." In short, the Reformers preserved the mansion-houses of the estates

other rents possessed by them; and most of those that subscribed (the Book of Discipline), getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of church patrimony than were the papists or any other whatsoever."

[1] Spottiswoode, *Hist.* i. 331-371, gives it at length.

[2] As a matter of posture, Christ and His Apostles neither sat nor knelt, but reclined at the last Supper, after the custom of the Jews of that day.

and the manses of the clergy, while they suppressed the buildings that served no other end but the honour of God.[1]

The fourth head concerns ministers and their lawful election. Ordinary vocation is declared to consist in election, examination, and admission. Election is to be made by the people within forty days; examination by the Church as to the life and learning of the persons presented and their acquaintance with current controversies; admission is to be made in open audience when some special minister shall preach a sermon upon the duty and office of ministers. Then follow the memorable words: "Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve that church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary."[2]

The fifth head makes provision for ministers and for the distribution of the rents and possessions of the Church. Remuneration is to be made in different proportions according to the ministerial rank of superintendent, minister, and reader. Provision is also made for the poor, and for the support of teachers. In every parish there is to be a schoolmaster; and in notable towns, specially in the towns of the superintendents, a college is to be erected, in which "the arts of logic and rhetoric, with the tongues, shall be taught by sufficient masters,

[1] On the Petition of the Assembly, the Estates appointed several noblemen in different parts to carry out its instructions by demolishing the buildings. Spottiswoode, *Hist.* i. 372, records "the pitiful vastation" that followed. It is useless to plead in the face of this order that the Protestant Church had no hand in the destruction of ecclesiastical buildings.

[2] A considerable number, what proportion it is impossible now to say, of the Protestant ministers had been priests of the Catholic Church, and may be supposed to have carried with them the virtue of their orders.

for whom honest stipends must be appointed." The educational scheme includes the three Universities, for which enactments are made to secure their efficiency. Altogether it was a creditable conception, devised with prudent foresight into the educational wants of the age. One thing only was wanted to make it effective—possession of the Church's patrimony; and upon that the reforming nobles and gentry kept a firm grip. The superintendents were to be ten in number, and set over so many "dioceses." Seven of the old see cities were designated as their residences, and three new ones were added—Edinburgh, Jedburgh, and Dumfries. The superintendent was to move from place to place in his diocese for the planting of churches, and for frequent preaching. He required no formal ordination, and was "subject to the censure and correction of the ministers and elders of his chief town and whole province over which he is appointed"; and if found negligent in any duty, "he must be deposed without any respect to his person or office."

In the sixth head it is enacted that the rents and patrimony of the Church shall be apportioned to the preachers, to the poor, and to schools. The reforming laymen had, however, anticipated the reforming preachers by seizing the lion's share of the Church's properties. Upon this topic the latter make the following caustic remark: "To our grief we hear that some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the tithes and other duties paid before to the Church than ever the papists were, and so the tyranny of priests is turned into the tyranny of lord or laird." Yet the Reformers did not abate one jot of the ancient claim upon the tithes, and they are enumerated under this sixth head as specifically as in the mediæval statutes.

The seventh head is "concerning the censuring of offenders." The powers of excommunication wielded by the Mediæval Church lose none of their rigour in the hands of the Reformers. "The minister, by consent of the elders and deacons, and at commandment of the church, shall pronounce the offender excommunicated from God, and from the society of his church. After which sentence no person may have any kind of communication with him (his wife and family only excepted) in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting, or conferring with him, unless the same be licensed by the ministry." This was a tolerably comprehensive excommunication for a Church not many months old, and only wanted the "bell, book, and candles" to make it identical in form, as it was in substance, with the old "cursing." It was identical also in this, that intimation of the sentence was to be made "through the whole realm, lest any should pretend ignorance of the same."

The eighth head, concerning elders and deacons, requires that they shall be appointed yearly, on the 1st August, "lest men by long continuance in those offices presume upon the liberty of the Church." The elders are "to have an eye not only upon the morals of the people, but upon the life, manners, diligence, and study of their ministers; and if he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; if of correction, they must correct him; and if he be worthy of deposition, they, with the consent of the Church and superintendent, may depose him."

The ninth head concerns "the policy" of the Kirk, which is explained to be of two sorts; the one utterly necessary, That the Word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, and common prayers publicly made; the other not necessary but profitable, That psalms be sung, and the Scriptures read when there is no

sermon. In great towns it recommends sermon or common prayer daily, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. The sermon must be preached before noon, and the children catechised in the afternoon. The Lord's Supper is to be administered quarterly, on the first "Sundays"[1] of March, June, September, and December, "that the superstitious observation of times may be avoided." None are to be admitted to communion "who cannot formally say the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of Belief, and declare the sum of the Law." "In a reformed Kirk marriage ought not to be privately used, but in open face and public audience of the Kirk, and therefore we esteem Sunday before sermon the most convenient time for celebration of marriage." Under the head of burial it is enjoined that there be neither singing, reading, nor praying over, or for the dead; funeral sermons are also discountenanced as "nourishing superstition," and tempting ministers to the respect of persons. The compilers recommend the severest punishment of such as profess to administer the sacraments without the Reformers' sanction. "Now men are so bold as without all vocation to minister the sacraments in open assemblies; and some persons presume to do it in houses without all reverence, where there is neither minister nor Word preached. Our desire is that some strict punishment be inflicted upon such abusers; which albeit we will not take upon us to prescribe, yet we fear not to affirm that both of them deserve death."

There was little that they did fear to affirm, but it is disappointing to find that they were so ready with the sentence of death upon every one who ventured to act independently of their order. Religious liberty was evidently not born in that day, nor in that school.

[1] Sunday is the word used in the Book of Discipline. Sabbath came later. See Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 269.

In the Book of Discipline there are several references to what is called "our Book of Common Order," or "the Order of Geneva which is now used," it says, "in some of our kirks." This book was compiled by Knox and his friends in Geneva, adopted by the congregation under his ministry there, and published in the year 1556. It was substantially the same as the Book afterwards introduced into Scotland which came to be known as Knox's Liturgy. A new edition was issued in 1562, and the Assembly enjoined "that an uniform order should be kept in administration of the sacraments, solemnisation of marriage, etc., according to the kirk of Geneva." Later enactments were made to the same effect by the Assembly, and, at their instance, the book was, in 1567, translated into Gaelic by John Carswell, superintendent of Argyll and the Isles,—the first work published in the Gaelic language. It has been said that the Service Book was only for the use of the "reader" in the absence of the minister; but it is expressly ordered that the minister shall use it, and the form for administering the Lord's Supper could not have been used by the reader.

The service was severely simple. It began with a confession of sin read from the book by the minister alone; then a psalm was sung, followed by an extempore prayer for a blessing on the word to be preached. Next came the sermon, and after it the prayer prescribed for the whole state of Christ's Church, ending with the Lord's Prayer. The Apostles' Creed was repeated, another psalm sung, and the service closed with the benediction. Kneeling was the posture used during confession and prayer, and standing was the attitude of praise. The psalms were sung from the English metrical version to well-known tunes, and were joined in heartily by the people. There were daily prayers and week-day sermons

in cities. On Sundays the first service was at 8 A.M.; in the afternoon Calvin's Catechism was taught to the young. The Service Book contained forms for the administration of the sacraments. Baptism was administered in Church, the Apostles' Creed was recited, and, in the father's absence, the godfather took the sponsorial vows. In the ministration of the Lord's Supper there was a prayer for grace to the communicants, but none for a blessing on the elements. Portions of Scripture were read while the elements were passed from hand to hand by the recipients in their seats. After all had received, the hundred and third psalm was sung, the benediction was pronounced, and so the service ended.

The celebration was commonly early in the morning, and was to be provided four times a year in towns, and twice in country parishes. This was the usage prescribed and partly followed, but the bad tradition of the single communion at Easter in the pre-Reformation Church was too strong to be rooted out. Before the death of Knox, the rule was inoperative. In some districts yearly communion was kept up with difficulty, and in others years elapsed without any celebration. There was a form of service for the election of superintendents, and also for marriage. A prayer was provided for visitation of the sick, but no service, no prayer, and no reading of Scripture was permitted at the burial of the dead. On that occasion the protest against popery was made as strong as a silent interment could make it.

A notice of Knox's Book would be incomplete without a reference to the Order of Excommunication which was added in 1567, when the Reformers were in full power. It was based upon as lofty a claim to the divine authority of the Protestant ministry as was ever made by prelate or priest, as the following extract shows:

"We give over into the hands of the devil this forenamed obstinate contemner N——, and that not only for the crime he hath committed, but much rather for his proud contempt and intolerable rebellion. And his sin we bind; and pronounce the same to be bound in heaven and earth. We further give over into the hands of the devil the said N——, to the destruction of his flesh, straightway charging all that profess the Lord Jesus . . . to repute and hold the said N—— accursed," etc. (pp. 166, 167). There is not much to choose between this and the mediæval excommunications.

Such was the Book of Common Order which, after a sleep of nearly three centuries, has been twice reprinted within recent years, not for congregational use, but for the edification of ecclesiastical students. The book has not the elements required for a satisfactory form of public worship. Without spiritual unction it was more a directory or guide, than a living manual—warm with the breath of the devotional spirit. Besides, its models as well as its language were chosen more from the Old Testament than the New, and failed to express the tenderness and charity of the Gospel. In all probability it was more owing to this lack of devotional fitness than to the reactionary spirit of a later age that the book ceased to keep its place in the public worship of the nation. Had its prayers been such as to take hold of the people's minds, and touch their hearts, they would not have allowed it so readily to fall into abeyance. "In England," as Dr. Robert Lee has observed,[1] "thousands, as well as king Charles, were ready to peril everything for the Book of Common Prayer; but in favour of Knox's Liturgy, which was commonly read in our churches some sixty, seventy, or eighty years, no one stands up to speak a word; it is allowed to perish without

[1] *Reform of the Church of Scotland*, p. 164.

a sigh; and it is buried, as itself appointed the dead should be, without solemnity or ceremony."[1]

The above detailed account has been given of the first Confession of Faith, the first Book of Discipline, and the Book of Common Order, in view of the importance of a proper understanding of the creed, the polity, and the worship of the first Protestant Church in Scotland. It has been a debatable question whether that Church was Episcopal or Presbyterian in polity. Most readers will come to the conclusion that it was neither the one nor the other. It had peculiarities common to both, but historically and in principle it belongs to neither. Presbytery, as a form of church government and polity, came from Geneva to Scotland for the first time in 1592, and Episcopacy, though not a stranger in the land, was practically reintroduced from England. The Protestant Church polity from 1560 to 1572 was, as has been already remarked, a provisional institution that had some features in common with Presbyterianism, namely, the calling of ministers and the ordering of elders and deacons; and other features that were akin to Episcopacy, such as the nominal three orders of superintendent, minister, and reader, the liturgy for worship and for the administration of the sacraments. The polity was of a hybrid order, and survived but a dozen years. Its troubled and turbulent history, until it developed into titular Episcopacy, equally transient and unsatisfactory, presents so few commendable features that not much credit can accrue to either party from its paternity.

[1] James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, in his *History of Scots Affairs*, iii. 250, records that in the year 1640, when he wrote, the set forms of prayer were being discontinued, "the Lord's Prayer likewise began to grow out of fashion as a set form, and the Gloria Patri, used in the Church since the Reformation, began to fall into desuetude; and not long after this the saying of the Creed at baptisms. . . . Finally, whatever the bishops had established, it was their work to demolish."

The reformation of the Church was a moral necessity for the preservation of religion in the land. Romanism was rotten to the core, and no reformation was then practicable under the Roman obedience. But the Church might have been, and ought to have been reformed, without so great a breach in her historic continuity and orders; and without the loss of other things which if not essential to her being are admittedly conducive to her well-being. The Historic Episcopate was lost, and with it the threefold ministry dating from the earliest antiquity, the weekly celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, the recurring fasts and festivals of the Christian year ordered on the model of the Life of Christ, hallowed as they had been by the usage of many centuries and some of them, like the Easter-tide, reaching back to the very roots of Christian antiquity,—all these were alike despised and rejected.[1] Scotland had broken not only with Roman mediævalism but with the early British and Celtic Church, the Church of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, the Church of St. Columba and St. Cuthbert. She had departed wholly from the lines of the country's past ecclesiastical history.[2] This transitional Church in Scotland could claim organic affinity with no system of religion that had hitherto prevailed in Christendom. What the practical result was of this vital change in the religious polity of the Scottish people has to be traced in the history that remains to be told.

[1] Dr. Skelton remarks in his life of *Maitland of Lethington*, ii. 70: "I see no reason to doubt that the reformation (even in Scotland) might have been successfully conducted on other lines; that a real reform of abuses, moral and spiritual, might have been brought about without the sacrifice of intellectual breadth and veracity, of moderation, of comprehension, of Christian charity."

[2] The same author, in his *Mary Stuart*, pp. 64, 65, remarking on the line taken in Scotland at the Reformation says: "Knox was undoubtedly guilty of a fatal mistake when he cut himself off from historical Christianity, and, in his own words, 'established the Church of Christ *de novo*.'"

## CHAPTER II

### REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, 1560-1562

First Protestant Council, known later as the General Assembly—The Assembly and the Romanists—Estates refuse approval of Book of Discipline—Knox's controversy with Romanists—Second Assembly and Romanists—Embassies to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth—Envoys to Queen Mary on her widowhood—Mary's return to Scotland—Opposition to the Mass—Queen's interview with Knox—Maitland of Lethington and Knox—Queen visits Edinburgh Castle and eastern towns—Objections to her exercise of religion—Privy Council refuses confirmation of Book of Discipline—Provision for Reformed ministry—Noblemen's seizure of Church lands—Morals of ministers and people—John Craig colleague to Knox in St. Giles'—Quintin Kennedy and Ninian Winzet withstand the Reformers—Discussion at Maybole between Kennedy and Knox.

THE Protestants held their first ecclesiastical council in St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Cowgate, Edinburgh, on the 20th December 1560. It was attended by forty-two members, of whom only six were ministers—Knox, Goodman, Row, Lindsay, Harlaw, and Christison, and one superintendent, Erskine of Dun. At some subsequent meetings the members were still fewer, an indication of the limited influence as yet possessed by the Reformers, and probably of the indifference of their supporters. The council came to be known as the General Assembly, and at first met twice in the year, in the months of June and December. In the latter month it met about Christmas, on purpose to mark their disregard for that festival. In

the first six Assemblies there was no moderator; but in the seventh, which was held at Christmas 1563, they elected John Willock, superintendent of Glasgow, to that office. As yet there were neither presbyteries nor synods, nothing between the kirk-sessions and the Assembly.

The Assembly of Christmas 1560 sat as "the ministers and commissioners of the particular kirks of Scotland, convened upon the things which are to set forward God's glory and the weal of His kirk in this realm." Part of the business was to sanction the appointment of men to the several offices of superintendent, minister, and reader,—the threefold grade of the Protestant polity.[1] A resolution was passed to destroy the collegiate church, now serving as the parish church of Restalrig, near Edinburgh, as a monument of idolatry. The concealed object was to strike a blow at its dean, John Sinclair, one of the sturdiest opponents of the Reformers. A resolution was also passed to reform the laws of marriage as affected by consanguinity, relieving the country from the restrictions and costs of the canon law, which had hitherto been worked for the benefit of the Roman exchequer, and to the injury of the people's morals.

In several parts of Scotland the Romanists still held meetings and occasional celebrations of the mass. The Assembly, on the 27th December 1560, petitioned Parliament to punish them sharply as idolaters. The districts named included Ayrshire and Galloway. The earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, the abbot of Crossraguel, and the prior of Whithorn were singled out as encouraging and protecting the papists.[2]

[1] The scheme comprised ten superintendents for so many "dioceses"; but M'Crie (*Life of Knox*, ii. 7) says, "owing to the scarcity of proper persons, or rather to the want of necessary funds, there were never more than six appointed."

[2] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, part i. p. 5.

A Convention of the Estates was held in Edinburgh on 15th January 1561, and to this Convention the Book of Discipline was submitted for approval as mentioned in the previous chapter. The Estates declined to accept it as a body; but thirty-three nobles and ex-prelates signed it, the latter securing by its provisions a confirmation of their life interests in the ecclesiastical properties they held. No importance was attached to the signing of it, and little credit was placed in the sincerity of the signatories.[1]

While the nobles had no liking for discipline, they displayed some taste for theological controversy in citing several members of the Roman Church to answer for their faith. Among those cited were Alexander Anderson, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and John Leslie, Official of that diocese. Knox, Willock, and Goodman conducted the argument on the Protestant side. Both Knox and Leslie have recorded the discussions, and each claims the victory for his own cause. Knox relates that Anderson affirmed that only Christ could offer the propitiatory sacrifice, and that priests offered the memorial of it; whereupon he was confronted with a missal, the teaching of which contradicted him. Leslie was then asked to explain his faith, but he made answer, according to Knox, that where the master (Anderson) had nothing to say, he would not venture to speak, as he knew nothing but canon law. Knox's account, disfigured by a vulgar attack on Leslie's parentage as "a priest's bastard," gives a very different version of the affair from that of Leslie, who says of Knox that he had "an unbridled licentiousness in speaking, mixed with a virulent fluency of words." He represents Anderson as having argued with such

[1] Tytler, *Hist.* v. 46; Cunningham, *Hist. Ch. of Scot.* i. 370; Burton, *Hist.* iv. 35.

learning and ability on the true merits of the sacrifice of the altar that the Protestants could not gainsay him, while the faith of the Catholics was greatly confirmed by his defence. Knox takes credit, to which he is quite entitled, for the freedom with which the Protestants invited their opponents to discuss the differences between them. But, as is usual with such debates, they were fruitless of conviction to either side.[1]

On the 27th May 1561, the second Assembly met in the Tolbooth, Edinburgh. It sent a petition to the Privy Council representing that "the pestilent generation of Anti-Christ" were again rearing their monuments of idolatry, and it called upon the Council to issue an order for the complete demolition of all existing religious houses. The Estates, at their meeting in the same month, agreed to the petition, and issued an order accordingly which probably completed the ruin that "the rascal multitude" had begun.[2]

One thing was still wanting to give validity to the Acts of Parliament which had revolutionised the religious system of the country, namely, the consent of the sovereign. To obtain this Sir James Sandilands, prior of the Knights of St. John, had been despatched to France after the Parliament of August 1560, which accepted the Confession of Faith.[3] A more imposing legation, consisting of the earls of Glencairn and Morton, and Maitland of Lethington, was at the same time despatched to the English Court. Queen Mary and her uncle, the cardinal

[1] Knox, ii. 138-142; Leslie, book x. p. 530; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 31-33.

[2] See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, i. 435, for the letter of lord James Stewart, the prior, to the lairds whom he commissioned to purge Dunkeld Cathedral. M'Crie belittles the destruction that followed the order of the Council. Spottiswoode, who lived near the time, gives a very different account. See his *Hist.* i. 372, 373.

[3] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, etc., *avec l'Ecosse*, ii. 147; *Papiers d'Etat*, i. 610-620.

of Lorraine, took offence at the want of respect shown by her subjects in sending a solitary gentleman of secondary rank as envoy to their own sovereign, while three leading statesmen had been deputed to the Court of Elizabeth. The cardinal also lectured the envoy upon his accepting such a post, seeing he was head of an ecclesiastical military order and bound by his vows to defend the Church. The queen deemed it an additional insult that the envoy was a churchman married in breach of his vows. A married prior, she said, was no prior at all. The only result of the knight's mission was to arouse the jealousy of the young queen against her cousin Elizabeth, and to increase her resentment against the dominant faction in Scotland. Mary declined to confirm their acts, and peremptorily refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, which would have excluded herself and her issue from the English throne.[1]

The situation was soon changed by the death of king Francis at Orleans, 5th December 1560. Mary, queen of France for sixteen months, now a young widow and childless, had no further claim on the French people, and her thoughts naturally turned to her native land. Her subjects were eager to welcome her home, for they were wearied of regencies; and the reports of Mary's beauty and accomplishments had already won for her a place in their hearts. Very soon, early in 1561, John Leslie, the Official of Aberdeen, sailing from that port, and lord James Stewart, the prior (il Bastardo di Scotia), posting through England, were on their way to the widowed queen. Leslie was sent by the northern earls, who were opposed to the ruling faction in Edinburgh. Lord James represented the latter, and was deputed as their envoy to tender to the queen their allegiance and duty. Leslie beat his

[1] Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* v. 149-154.

rival by a day, and had an interview with Mary at Vitry, in Champagne, in which he warned her against her half-brother, lord James, who was a pensioner of the English Court, and therefore not to be trusted. He advised the queen to detain him in France until after her settlement among her subjects in Scotland, and further recommended her to disembark at Aberdeen, where the northern earls were ready with an army of twenty thousand men to escort her to Edinburgh. Leslie was right in his estimate of the lay prior, as Mary afterwards found to her cost; but she wisely declined to follow his advice and commit herself as a partisan, at the commencement of her reign, to any one faction in the State. It would be her aim, she said, as it was her desire, to be sovereign of all her subjects.

On the following day, the 15th April, Mary received her half-brother at St. Dizier with all her natural frankness. He pressed her to acquiesce in the Treaty of Edinburgh, no doubt in the interests of the English Court; but on this subject Mary remained firm to the end of her life. She is said to have urged him to break with the Reformers, and to return to the Roman Church, holding out inducements, and going so far as to promise him a cardinal's hat. While resisting her blandishments, he did not preserve the ordinary reticence of an envoy, but abused his sister's confidence by reporting their conversation to Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, who communicated it to Elizabeth, with the information that the queen of Scots was speedily to return to her native land.[1]

On the 14th August 1561, Mary embarked at Calais. She kept her tearful eyes on the fading coast of France, and had her bed made on deck that she might see it again in the morning, with a dim presentiment, it may

[1] Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* v. 174-182; Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, p. 29.

be, that she was leaving behind her not France only but happiness. Froude describes her at this juncture as "the brave woman, scarcely more than a girl, who was about to throw herself alone into the midst of the most turbulent people in Europe, fresh emerged out of revolution, and loitering in the very rear of civilisation."[1] Mary escaped the English cruisers, thanks to a prevailing mist, and reached Leith after a voyage of six days. Knox drew an evil omen from the friendly fog, and regarded it as a prognostication of coming judgments.[2]

The young queen was received with many demonstrations of loyalty by her subjects. They were rejoiced to have her in the midst of them, and she reciprocated warmly the expressions of their devotion. In a very few days the clouds began to gather. Sunday came, and preparations were made in the private chapel of Holyrood for a celebration of mass. As soon as this was known outside a noisy crowd burst into the courtyard, headed by the Master of Lindsay, sword in hand, and shouting, "The idolatrous priests shall die the death." When the mob pressed for entrance into the chapel, lord James placed himself at the door and told them gravely that it was not seemly that their eyes should see the abominable thing. Three of the queen's uncles and a small retinue of servants had accompanied her, and the latter were so alarmed by the aspect of the crowd that they begged to be allowed to return to France, seeing that liberty of worship was denied them in Scotland.[3]

[1] *Hist. Eng.* vi. 519. The English historian's opinion of the Scotland of that day is confirmed by Dr. R. Chambers, who says in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 5, "It is forced upon us that the Scots were at this very time a fearfully rude and ignorant people." See also Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, chap. ii.

[2] *Hist. Reformation*, book iv.

[3] See letter from Randolph to Throckmorton in Laing's edition of Knox, vi. 127-129; and letter in Latin from Knox to Calvin, dated Edinburgh, 24th Oct. 1561, in Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 172, 173.

Next day the queen, with the sanction of the Privy Council, issued a proclamation declaring her intention shortly to summon the Estates, to advise with them on matters of religion, promising that, meanwhile, no alteration should be made in the established order, and demanding that no molestation should be offered to her servants.[1] It was as fair a compromise as could have been offered,—liberty of conscience to both sides. But that was not the liberty for which the Reformers now clamoured. Liberty with them meant the power to put down by pains and penalties the religious liberties of others. The earl of Arran, eldest son of the duke of Chatelherault, a hot-headed youth now verging on insanity, who had aspired to Elizabeth's hand, and afterwards sought Mary's, publicly protested, after the manner of the Scots, against the terms of the proclamation, and declared in his protestation that the queen's servants were no more to be tolerated in idolatry than they should be if guilty of murder, "for the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God than the other."[2] Knox applauded the "boldness" of Arran, and relates how, next Sunday in St. Giles', he inveighed against idolatry, declaring that one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed to suppress the whole religion. He adds that the members of the Court present at the sermon mocked at his professed alarm, and told him that they did not share it, that it was quite beside his text, and a very untimely admonition.

Mary must have often heard of Knox, and probably liked him as little as Elizabeth did, but she had not hitherto met him. Rumours of his sermon reached the

[1] Proclamation given in Knox's *Hist. Ref.* book iv., and in Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 40.

[2] Knox, *Hist. Ref.* book iv.; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 41.

palace, and she sent for him; not, it may be supposed, with any sanguine idea of converting him, but with the reasonable hope of mollifying the angry man and bringing him to an amicable concordat of live and let live. It was a memorable meeting between the widowed queen, in her nineteenth year, with charms to which not even Knox was insensible, and the bearded Reformer, plain of speech, blunt in manner, uncompromising in terms. The lord James was the only witness, and Knox the only reporter of the interview. Mary began by accusing the preacher of stirring up her subjects against her, as he had done against her mother, and referred to his treatise against the Government of Women. Knox answered that preaching against idolatry was not sedition, and as for his book, which he said was written specially against Mary of England, though an Englishman had professed to answer it, he considered himself better able to sustain what he had written than any ten men in Europe were to refute it. But you say, replied the queen, that I have no authority. Knox would neither admit nor deny her authority. He remarked that for himself he would be as content to live under her majesty if she did not persecute the saints of God, as Paul was to live under the emperor Nero. It was not a flattering comparison to make between the girlish queen and one of the greatest monsters of pagan history; but it was Knox's way. It has been said in his defence that he was not a courtier. True; but he might have been civil, if he could not be courteous.

Knox was then charged with teaching the people another religion than their princes allowed; and how, asked the queen, can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their princes? Religion, he replied, did not come from princes but from

God only, and subjects were not bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes, else Abraham would have been of Pharaoh's religion, Daniel of Nebuchadnezzar's, and the apostles of the Roman emperors'. But, said the queen, none of these men raised the sword against their princes. That was only because they had not the power, said Knox. But if they have the power, do you think, said she, that they may resist their princes? The Reformer replied that the power of princes was not more sacred than the authority of a parent, and as a father in a fit of frenzy may have the sword taken from him and be bound in prison till his frenzy be overpast, so with princes whose blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy. The sword should be taken from them and they be cast into prison till they be brought to a sober mind; that agreeth, said Knox, with the word of God.

Mary stood amazed and silent, as Knox relates, for a quarter of an hour. Her countenance changed, and lord James thought she was ill. At length she found speech to say that she perceived her subjects were to obey Knox, and not her. Knox deprecated this interpretation of his words, and urged the queen to prove herself a nursing mother of the Church, and to nourish it. "Yes," said Mary, "but ye are not the Church that I will nourish; I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God." Knox thereupon vilified the Church of Rome as the Roman harlot, guilty of spiritual fornication, and so on. Mary said her conscience was not so; and she was told that conscience required knowledge, and that of right knowledge she had but little. Still, however, the queen held her ground, and replied that she had both heard and read. So, said Knox, had the Jews who crucified Christ. But, retorted Mary, the

pope and cardinals interpret Scripture one way and you another; whom shall I believe? She was told that she was to believe only the Word of God, and Knox thereupon entered on a discussion of the doctrine of the mass, when Mary interrupted him by the remark that he was over-hard upon her, but that if some were present whom she had heard they would have answered him. Knox then expressed his readiness to meet the most learned papist in Europe, a wish which the queen said he might have gratified sooner than he thought.

So ended the discussion, after which the queen was called to dinner, but not before she heard Knox's parting prayer that she might be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel. What Knox said of the queen behind her back he has also reported: "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."[1]

A new Privy Council was formed in September 1561, of which several of the Roman Catholic nobles were members. It was Mary's judicious policy to steer an even course between the opposing factions so as to secure peace for the country, if she could not promote good-will among her subjects. Her rule during the few years preceding her marriage with Darnley was so far successful that the country enjoyed an unusual measure of prosperity. Lord James was a leading member of the Council, and shortly afterwards (1562) he married the daughter of the earl Marischal, was made earl of Mar, and by and by earl of Moray. The dominating power in the Council, now and for some years to come, was the Secretary,

[1] Knox, *Hist. Ref.* book iv. Burton, *Hist.* iv. 31, remarks upon the interview: "Throughout the whole dialogue Knox does not yield the faintest shred of liberty of conscience, or leave it for one moment doubtful that the queen has any other course before her than submission."

Maitland of Lethington. For the ten years between 1560 and 1570, the two ruling spirits in Scotland were Maitland and Knox; the one ruling the civil, the other the ecclesiastical, polity of the country, but with civil and ecclesiastical frequently overlapping and producing strained relations and bitter encounters between the two men. Knox was perfervid and sometimes abusive; Maitland always cool and often sarcastic. The Secretary's unwearied aim was to bring about a better understanding with England; a working concordat, political and ecclesiastical, between the two kingdoms; and in this object he was aided for a time by the lord James. This policy was acceptable to neither of the extreme factions at home. The Roman Catholics dreaded the effect of English influence upon the religion of the queen, and the Protestants, equally suspicious of its influence upon their religion, began now to denounce the Anglican Church as heartily as they had abused the Roman.[1]

The queen in the same September made her first public entrance into Edinburgh, for which the magistrates had made costly preparations. Amidst a display of mimic pageantry, in which the citizens ingeniously exhibited their Protestantism as well as their loyalty, Mary, followed by many of the nobility, rode forth under a canopy borne by sixteen of "the maist honest burghers," from Holyrood Palace to the castle, where she dined. On her return her progress was arrested at several stages by various dramatic scenes, and among others, by a boy emerging from a cloud as a cherub, and handing to her Majesty the keys of the city, a Bible, and a psalm-book.[2] It was also intended to represent the burning of a priest in the act of offering the mass, but the earl of Huntly prevented the indecency. Instead of this, the destruction

[1] See Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* v. 212. [2] *I.e.* Knox's Liturgy.

of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram was represented, and both parties were satisfied, as each interpreted the final scene as the appropriate reward of the other's pretensions.

In this month of September the queen visited in turn the towns of Linlithgow (her birthplace), Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews. Lord James had promised that she should be protected in the use of her own religious rites; but during this progress the Protestants made an outcry that by attending mass the queen had polluted the places with her idolatry. The same objection was taken to a celebration of mass after her return in the private chapel at Holyrood on All Saints' day. A meeting of "the Congregation" was held at the house of Macgill, the lord Clerk Register, where the question was warmly debated, "whether subjects might put to their hand to suppress the idolatry of their prince." The ministers were unanimous for suppression, and declared that the queen's liberty would be their thraldom; but the laymen, headed by lord James and Maitland, carried a resolution "that the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel" for herself and her household.[1]

The next Assembly, held in December 1561, was marked by the absence of the reforming barons, who began to question the lawfulness of ecclesiastical meetings without the sovereign's writ.[2] The Assembly asked the Privy Council to confirm the Book of Discipline, a proposal which was again declined; it also petitioned the Council to suppress idolatry, and to make permanent provision for the maintenance of the Protestant ministry. This last request was deemed reasonable, excepting, as Tytler observes, by the reforming barons "who had been zealous supporters of the Reformation, but loved its plunder better than its principles." The Council never-

[1] Burton, *Hist.* iv. 34. [2] Tytler, *Hist.* v. 208.

theless agreed that one-third of all ecclesiastical revenues should be divided between the ministers and the Crown, the other two-thirds remaining with the former beneficiaries. A sixth portion of the wealth of the old Church would no doubt have sufficed for the ministers of that time, but from dilapidations and waste, and fraud in making the returns, the actual sum received was a very inadequate pittance.[1]

When the rent-rolls of all the benefices were made up, the third was found to be 73,880 pounds Scots,[2] the one-half of which should have been assigned to the Protestant ministers, and the other half reserved for the Crown; but the reforming barons who had the distribution of the ministers' portion were determined that they should not, like their predecessors, be spoiled by affluence, and the sum actually divided among the several superintendents, ministers, and readers, in graded proportions, amounted to no more than 24,231 pounds Scots.[3] The ministers cried out that they were being starved. They were told that they were better off than many a poor laird, and that the queen could not afford any more. This reference to the queen was scarcely generous, for the share that fell to the Crown was the smallest fraction of any, barely sufficient, as Maitland put it, to buy a pair of slippers for her Majesty. In many cases the third was remitted, and in many more payment of it was refused by the beneficiary. The lord James drew the whole of the large revenues of the priories of St. Andrews and Pittenweem without any deduction; and the same was done by the earl of Argyll, lord Erskine, and other reforming lords in regard to the lands and tithes of which they had robbed the Church.[4] The

[1] Tytler, *Hist.* v. 209.

[2] Pounds Scots, divided by twelve, equal pounds sterling.

[3] The authority for these figures is Keith, *Affairs*, etc. App. to vol. iii. pp. 360-392.

[4] Keith, *Affairs*, iii. 385.

Roman bishops and prelates kept as much as they could, and their ecclesiastical possessions were converted into family heritages, temporal lordships in some cases being created in their favour out of the old church lands. They had already alienated much by permanent leases and feus, and the pope had given his confirmation to some of the questionable transactions in the hope of securing a future provision for the Roman Church. In other cases what fraud could not do, force was able to accomplish. The earl of Cassillis cast an envious eye on the abbey lands of Glenluce. The abbot was cozened into an agreement to convey the lands to the earl, but before the deed was signed the abbot died, and a monk was bribed to forge the transference. To prevent the monk from revealing the forgery the earl had him murdered. By a more barbarous device he afterwards (1571) secured the abbacy of Crossraguel.[1] Having decoyed the abbot to his castle of Dunure he roasted him over a slow fire until he was fain to sign the legal conveyance of the abbey lands in order to save his life, though he was maimed and crippled for the rest of his days. The abbot appealed to the Privy Council, but all the satisfaction he got out of the villainous earl was a small pension from the abbey lands.[2]

Before the Assembly of June 1562, many cases of discipline were brought up, and accusations were made by the superintendents against ministers, and by ministers in return against the superintendents. The ministers were not as yet a numerous body. In 1572, throughout the whole of Scotland, which contained nearly a thousand parishes, there were only 252 ministers, though they had

[1] This was after the death of abbot Kennedy his relative.

[2] *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Family of Kennedy*, Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club), pp. 91-101.

been numerous enough in 1562 to furnish a plentiful crop of scandals. The morals of the laity were not much better, judging from the testimony of Knox who, writing in the year 1564, says "the preachers were wondrous vehement in reprehension of all manner of vice, which *then began to abound.*" Evidently the country was not improving in morals under Protestant discipline.[1]

By the same Assembly, John Craig was appointed colleague to Knox in St. Giles' church. He was an eminent man, and with a somewhat remarkable history before settling in Edinburgh. Educated in St. Andrews, he had joined the Dominican Order, was suspected of heresy, and thrown into prison. After clearing himself of the charge, he went first to England, and afterwards to Italy, where he gained the favour of cardinal Pole. He was then for some time employed in honourable services for his Order in Bologna and elsewhere, until a perusal of Calvin's Institutes revived his doubts as to the old faith. Expressing his mind too freely, he was delated for heresy, and sent to Rome, where, after an imprisonment of nine months, he was sentenced by the Inquisition to be burned on the 19th August 1559. On the evening preceding, pope Paul IV. died, and the Romans, from dislike of his tyrannical rule, arose in revolt, attacked the Inquisition, liberated the prisoners, and set fire to the prison. Craig then made his way, after many adventures, to Vienna where he enjoyed the friendship of the archduke Maximilian. From Vienna he returned to Edinburgh, and naturally, with his experience and convictions, he at once joined the Reformers. His long foreign residence of twenty-four years unfitted him at first for preaching in his native tongue; and he preached "now and then to the

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 8-11; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 51-59; Knox, *Hist.* ii. 337-345; Calderwood, ii. 183-194.

learneder sort in Latin, in the Magdalene's Chapel at Edinburgh."[1]

The adherents of the Roman Church were still numerous in Scotland, and in many places the old services were stealthily continued. Several of the nobles remained firm in their first faith, which had now become as much a political as a religious badge. The prelates of the Church did little to sustain the credit or confirm the faith of their communion. Many of them, as has been seen, were deplorably ignorant and unequal to religious controversy. Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, stood for a time almost alone as the champion of Rome, but never did he stand up for the Scottish prelates or priests.

Kennedy was now joined by a colleague equally zealous and better equipped,—Ninian Winzet, the learned priest and master of the grammar school in Linlithgow. It was one of the many schools of that class, founded by the Church in the old burgh towns of Scotland. Winzet was settled there in 1551, and for nine years continued his scholastic work until expelled by Spottiswoode, the superintendent of the Lothians, from what he calls "the kindly town," because of his refusal to sign the Confession of Faith. After this, he threw himself vigorously into the controversies of the time, disputing with Protestants, and publishing in Edinburgh his tracts, which he scattered broadcast over the land. He was as outspoken as Kennedy in denouncing the profligacy of priest and prelate, which had, as he tells them, brought all this ruin and shame on the Church. Nothing could be more trenchant than the language he addressed to the Roman clergy, men of his own creed, but not of his own good life. He also attacked the nobles for their share in the

[1] Spottiswoode, *Hist.* iii. 91-94.

corruption of church patronage, which had been visited with punishment, he said, in the ruin of many noble families; and he satirised the rapacity of such of their order as had urged a reformation from idolatry, but did not reform themselves from the idolatry of avarice.[1]

Winzet wrote a treatise containing eighty-three questions on doctrine and church polity, and sent it to Knox for answer. Knox evaded the challenge, and Winzet plied him with letter after letter. Still receiving no answer, he published his final brochure entitled "The last Blast of the Trumpet of God's word against the usurped authority of John Knox and his Calvinian brethren." Knox answered this by instigating the magistrates of Edinburgh to apprehend Winzet, and burn his tractates. The tractarian managed to escape, but the printer was seized and imprisoned, and all copies of the works were destroyed. Winzet went abroad, and in Antwerp continued his writings, until, in 1576, through the influence of John Leslie, then bishop of Ross by favour of the queen, he was appointed abbot of the Scots Benedictine monastery at Ratisbon, where he died in 1592, at the age of seventy-four. While at Ratisbon, he published his *Flagellum Sectariorum* or Scourge of the Sectaries, and appended to it an answer to George Buchanan's work, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.[2]

Abbot Kennedy continued to defend his religion by pen and speech, and to retaliate upon his opponents. In the autumn of 1562 Knox visited the west country to

[1] Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 416 *seq.*

[2] For authorities on Winzet's life and writings see Grub, ii. 115-122; Bellesheim, iii. 35-53; *Church of Scot.* ed. Story, ii. 410-414; Spottiswoode's *Hist.* ii. 15; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 33, and Appendix, pp. 412-507; Burton, *Hist.* iii. 401.

pledge the protestant nobles and gentry by a bond to maintain their religion and its ministers against all persons and powers opposed to the same.[1] Kennedy was then preaching in the church of Kirk Oswald, in which parish his abbey of Crossraguel was situated, on the subjects in dispute between him and the Protestants. Knox heard of it and challenged the abbot to a public discussion, which took place in the house of the provost of the collegiate church at Maybole. The discussion lasted three days,[2] and the principal questions debated were the authority of the Church and the doctrine of the mass. The abbot pleaded the universality of the Church's testimony, its catholicity and its infallibility. The Reformer answered the plea by his usual appeal to Scripture, and quoted copiously from the Old Testament, with which he was thoroughly conversant, to show that the prophets were often in antagonism to the Church and priests of their day, who were always ready with the cry, "The temple of the Lord are we." On the subject of the mass, Kennedy minimised the teaching of his Church as to its propitiatory virtue. He admitted that the sacrifice of the cross was the only propitiatory sacrifice, and that the mass was the commemoration of the same,—which was Catholic doctrine, but not as Rome had for centuries been teaching it. Upon this admission Knox observed, "So far as I can conceive of my lord's answer, he maketh no sacrifice propitiatory in the mass which is the chief end I intended to impugn. For, as for the commemoration of Christ's death and passion, that I grant and publicly do confess to be celebrated in the right use of the Lord's Supper, which I deny the mass to be." The dis-

[1] Knox, *Hist.* book iv., gives list of nearly eighty subscribers to the bond, beginning with the provost of Ayr, and including lord Glencairn.

[2] It might have lasted longer, but the retainers of Knox and the abbot exhausted the supplies of Maybole.

cussion was marked by unusual courtesy and moderation on both sides.[1]

Ninian Winzet and Quintin Kennedy were not the only, though they were the chief, defenders of the Roman Church, while its faith was being attacked by a hundred tongues and pens. It is evidence of the low estate of clerical learning among seculars and regulars of the old hierarchy that so few were found competent to enter the lists in defence of what ought to have been dearer to them than life. Some of their ablest men had, no doubt, joined the Reformers, but of the residue it may be said without breach of charity that the salt had lost its savour, and its treatment corresponded to the adage.[2]

[1] Quintin Kennedy was nephew of the earl of Cassillis, and, under his protection, he lived and died abbot of Crossraguel, his death occurring in August 1564. A copy of Kennedy's Oration, and the Reasoning between him and John Knox is given in M'Gavin's edition of Knox's *History*, pp. 529-572. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, ii. 66-72.

[2] Bellesheim, the Roman historian, admits as much when he says that "most of the bishops, unhappily, were lacking in the qualities necessary to make a good defence against the enemy, while the Catholic preachers had neither the courage to provoke discussion nor the ability to conduct it."—*Hist. Cath. Ch. in Scot.* iii. 64.

# CHAPTER III

## REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, 1562-1565

Pope Pius IV. solicits Mary to send prelates to Council of Trent—Her answer—Visit of Goudanus, papal nuncio—His interview with queen and Roman prelates—His report of religious parties in Scotland—His severe criticism on Scottish Roman prelates and priests—Rebellion of earl of Huntly—Second interview between queen and Knox—Protestant feeling against Romanists—Roman prelates and priests imprisoned for saying mass—Queen opens her first Parliament—Knox's violent language against the queen and papists generally—Third interview between Mary and Knox—Meeting of Assembly at Perth—Knox tried for illegal assembling of queen's subjects—Persecution of Romanists—Assembly presents to queen six articles praying reformation—Knox's second marriage—Queen engaged to Darnley—Their marriage.

ALTHOUGH the Roman Church was disestablished by the Parliament of 1560, the queen still kept in touch with the papal see by secret envoys. It was not easily done from the number of protestant lords about her Court, and their jealousy of Roman emissaries. Pius IV. had already rewarded Mary's fidelity to the faith by the gift of the Golden Rose. Shortly afterwards he begged her to send some of the Scottish prelates and an ambassador to the closing sessions of the Council of Trent. The queen wrote from St. Andrews (18th March 1563) stating her inability to send either prelate or envoy from Scotland, but promising to enforce among her subjects as far as she could, the decrees of the Council. The letter gave much satisfaction at Trent, and the cardinal

of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, spoke for her in the Council, and expressed the hope that some of the Scottish bishops then in France would yet attend.[1] None of them appeared, not even archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who had been in France for three years. The decrees of the Council of Trent were, therefore, without the assent of any prelate from Scotland.[2]

On the 19th June 1562 a papal nuncio, a Jesuit known as Goudanus,[3] landed at Leith, and, a month after his arrival, an interview was arranged with the queen at Holyrood, while the Protestant lords of her Court were at church. But in spite of every precaution to ensure secrecy, the "strange visage" of the envoy was seen, and many rumours were circulated as to his visit. Mary stated to him the difficulties of her position, and declared with regard to herself that "she would sooner die than abandon the faith." The envoy found equal difficulty in getting access to the bishops. They were so afraid, from the suspicion in which they were held, of being compromised by his visit, that one after another declined it. Bishop Sinclair of Ross, president of the Court of Session, assured the envoy that were he to receive him, "his house would without doubt be destroyed within four-and-twenty hours." Bishop Chisholm, refused to see Goudanus, even in secluded Dunblane, although he had gone thither in the disguise of a servant. The bishop of Dunkeld, "who," says the Jesuit, "resides on an island somewhere, with no other human habitation near," alone ventured to entertain him; but the conditions were that he should appear as a banker's clerk, and that their conversation during dinner should turn on nothing but money.

[1] Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 249, 250.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 287.

[3] His real name was Nicholas Floris of Gouda, in Holland.—Bellesheim, iii. 58.

The nuncio kept his eyes and ears open, and as he saw something of the country, his information is not without value. "I will add," he writes, "a few words on the bishops' position at present, and that of the kingdom in general, especially as regards religion. The aspect of things is miserable enough. The monasteries are nearly all in ruins, some completely destroyed; churches, altars, sanctuaries, are overthrown and profaned. The images of Christ and of the saints broken, and lying in the dust. No religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom; no mass ever said in public, except in the queen's chapel; and none of the sacraments are publicly administered with Catholic ceremonial. Children can be baptized only after the heretical form, and that on Sundays only,[1] so that many infants die unbaptized. The ministers, as they call them, are either apostate monks or laymen of low rank, and are quite unlearned, being cobblers, shoemakers, tanners, or the like, while their ministrations consist merely of declamation against the Supreme Pontiff and the holy sacrifice of the altar, the idolatry of the mass, worship of images, and invocation of saints. These and other impieties they are constantly shouting into the ears of the credulous multitude who know no better. They are so insane as not only to have destroyed the images of the saints, but also burnt the writings of the holy fathers of the Church, thus repudiating the authority of general councils and apostolic tradition. They reverence nothing but Holy Scripture, and this they interpret in a sense as opposite as possible to the doctrines of the Church. They have superintendents who diligently visit the churches, drive out by force the legitimate pastors wherever they find any, and not only confirm the wretched people in their

[1] The Jesuit's accuracy in this particular, as to which he is confirmed by the Book of Discipline, adds somewhat to the credibility of his narrative.

errors, but draw away Catholics, and sometimes even priests, from the true religion. One day, close to the place where I lodged, three priests publicly abjured the Catholic faith; and another time, while I was there, one of the principal superintendents, a doctor of theology and a monk, then about seventy years of age, was openly married. This was done to enforce practically, as he had often done verbally, their doctrine of the unlawfulness of the vow of chastity which they are perpetually proclaiming from the pulpit. They use every possible device to lead the wretched people astray. Whenever any one comes into a court of law, the magistrates always inquire first if they are 'Papists,' or belong to their Congregation. Should they be Papists they can get very little, if any, attention paid to their cause. The men in power acknowledge the queen's title, but prevent her exercising any of the rights of sovereignty. Whenever her opinion does not agree with theirs, they oppose her at once. Not only so, but they deceive her as well, and frighten her with threats of an English invasion, especially when she is meditating any steps in support of her faith, reminding her that the English did really invade Scotland three years ago, at the time when her mother, of pious memory, endeavoured to shake off her heretical tyrants with the aid of the French. What can this good young princess effect, brought up amid the splendour and luxury of the French Court, scarcely twenty years old, and destitute of all human support and counsel? Her very confessor abandoned her just before I came away, and returned to France with some of her Catholic attendants, leaving her alone among heretics, whom, notwithstanding, she continues to resist and counteract to the best of her power. There is no mistaking the imminent peril of her situation."

What Goudanus further reports about the Roman Catholic preachers and bishops in Scotland has been often repeated in substance since his day. From him it has all the freshness of a report at first hand, besides the value of a witness against his own side, which may warrant further quotations. "There are some Catholic preachers of note, but they are few in number, and seldom venture to attack controversial points, being indeed unequal to the task of handling them with effect. Only a few Religious (Monastics) are left, and most of them have no fixed residence, but go about from place to place, or wear the secular habit, and live among their friends. The priests, of whom but few remain, are not distinguishable from laymen in dress or appearance. The nobles and wealthy Catholics hear mass occasionally with the greatest secrecy, and in their own houses. Indeed, any public profession of the orthodox religion would expose them and their whole families to immediate danger." He next states the causes to which "the best and most sensible Catholics" attribute all their misfortunes. "They consider them," he says, "as owing to the suspension of the ordinary mode of election to abbacies and other high dignities. These preferments are conferred upon children, or other incapable persons, without any care for God's honour and the service of the Church, and very often one such person holds several offices in the same church. For instance, a son of one of the bishops has been appointed to the archdeaconry and two canonries in his father's cathedral. Besides which, the lives of priests and clerics are not unfrequently such as to cause grave scandal, an evil increased by the supine indifference and negligence of the bishops themselves. . . . I will not describe the way in which their prelates live, the example they set, or the sort of men they nominate as their successors; only it is hardly surprising if God's flock

is eaten up by wolves, while such shepherds as these have charge of it."[1]

In the year 1562, Mary was engaged in crushing the incipient rebellion of the earl of Huntly, who exercised a feudal sovereignty over the north country, as extensive as Argyll's in the west, and was familiarly known as "Cock of the North." Aberdeen, then no mean city, with its cathedral and university, was virtually his capital. He had saved its cathedral from the spoilers, and even now his castle of Strathbogie was the receptacle of its holy vessels, vestments, and other treasures, until the hoped-for restitution should come.[2] The earl was a travelled and accomplished man, the mainstay of Romanism in the north, and boasted that he could set up the old religion in three counties. His position as chancellor had given him an additional influence in the crooked politics of the time; but his dealings with the late queen-regent, though he was a professed Catholic, had been vacillating and inconsistent. Mary mistrusted him, and on a visit which she made by way of Aberdeen to Inverness, she declined his overtures for reconciliation. The result was Huntly's revolt and the battle of Corrichie, sixteen miles from Aberdeen, in which the earl was defeated. He surrendered with two of his sons, and immediately afterwards died of apoplexy.[3] His son, Sir John Gordon, was beheaded at Aberdeen; and the heir of Huntly and eleven barons of the house of Gordon, including the earl of Sutherland, were attainted. The punishment may have been merited,

[1] Extracts are from the translation of Goudanus by Father Forbes Leith, in his *Narratives of the Scottish Catholics*, pp. 72-76. The letter was written by Goudanus to the general of the Jesuits, and dated Mayence, 30th September 1562. See also Robertson's *Statuta*, p. clxv.; Bellesheim, iii. 58-65.

[2] Some of this ecclesiastical spoil was used to fit up the lodgings for Darnley in the Kirk-of-Field where he was murdered.

[3] See the Marquis of Huntly's *Records of Aboyne*, New Spalding Club, pp. 466, 467.

but it was not politic; for if every lord guilty of treason in those times had been attainted, the queen would have found difficulty in forming a Privy Council.

The fall of Huntly did not appease the Protestants or make them more reasonable in their demands. The preachers attacked the queen, not only directly in their sermons, but obliquely in their prayers. "They pray," said Randolph, the English ambassador, who was an abettor of their general policy, in his letter to Cecil, "that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers; and for herself (the queen), as much in effect as that God will either turn her heart or send her short life. Of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed by the great divines."[1] Mary's forbearance with Knox did not moderate his invectives, which were often so coarse as to excite either ridicule or indignation. Maitland, as his manner was, answered them with a scoff, Morton bade Knox hold his peace, and Randolph lamented that he had more zeal than charity.[2]

The queen's dancing gave special offence to Knox, and on a second visit to Holyrood, he told her that she and her Court were "more exercised in fiddling and flinging than in reading or hearing God's word." The queen remarked, "Your words are sharp enough as you have spoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner. If ye hear anything of me," she added, "that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you." This was no doubt honestly meant; but Knox answered that while he was "appointed by God to rebuke the vices of all, he could not go to every man in particular and show him his offence; nor could he wait her

[1] MS. letter, Randolph to Cecil, State-paper Office, 28th Feb. 1562-63, cited by Tytler, *Hist.* v. 228. See also Knox, *Hist. Ref.* M'Gavin's ed. p. 306.

[2] Tytler, v. 228.

grace's pleasure at her chamber door." Knox thereupon departed "with a reasonable merry countenance," and to the remark of a courtier that he was not afraid to speak, he made the ready reply, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked in the face of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure."[1]

Severe penalties had been decreed against the Romanists; but, under the protection of friendly barons, they continued their meetings and celebrations. At the Easter of 1563 several of the Roman ecclesiastics in the west openly celebrated mass, which gave such offence to the Protestants that they seized some of the priests, and avowed their intention no longer to complain to queen or Council, but to take the law into their own hands and execute punishment upon "the papish idolaters." The queen, who was then at Lochleven, became alarmed for the safety of her co-religionists, and sent for Knox. She remonstrated against the threatened illegal violence, and pleaded with him for toleration. He reminded her of the laws enacted against popery, and of her duty and that of the magistrates to punish the infraction of these laws; and, failing this, he said, subjects were justified in taking the law into their own hands.[2]

Ruffled as Mary was by Knox's language she met him again next morning while pursuing her favourite pastime of hawking, and talked confidentially with him upon different subjects. She warned him against Gordon, the bishop of Galloway, the pope's titular archbishop of Athens, who was now seeking election as superintendent of Galloway, and Knox admits that the queen was not deceived in her estimate of the bishop.[3] She spoke of

[1] Knox, *Hist.* pp. 269-271.
[2] Tytler, v. 237.
[3] Knox, *Hist.* M'Gavin's ed. p. 285.

the unfriendly terms on which the earl and countess of Argyll were living, and advised Knox to write to the earl, a commission which he executed in a characteristic letter to his lordship.[1] Before parting with Knox the queen promised to enforce the penal laws against the Romanists, a promise which she duly kept, inconsistent as her conduct was in punishing her subjects for adherence to a religion which she had declared to be dearer to herself than life. The archbishop of St. Andrews, Fleming, prior of Whithorn, and forty-six others, were tried in Edinburgh for celebrating or assisting at mass, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.[2] Other priests fled for safety to England.

The trial of the Romanists took place on the 19th May (1563); and two days after, Mary, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of lords and ladies, opened her first Parliament in the Tolbooth. The beauty of the queen, and the grace with which she delivered the royal speech, captivated the people. "God save that sweet face," they exclaimed; "was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly?" Her popularity on this occasion was deeply galling to Knox. "Such stinking pride of women," he says, "as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in Scotland."[3] The preachers railed in their sermons at the dresses of the Court ladies, "the targetting of their tails[4] and the rest of their vanity"; and Knox inveighed against the queen's proposed marriage with "an infidel," the king of Spain; "for all papists," said he, "are infidels." The Reformer admits that his language "was judged intolerable — that papists and

[1] The letter is given by Knox, *Hist.* pp. 286, 287; see also Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 198.

[2] Tytler, *Hist.* v. 238.

[3] Knox, *Hist.* p. 288.

[4] That is, hoop petticoats. See Sharpe's Biographical Notice, prefixed to Kirkton's *History*, p. xix.

protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars," he says, "disdained him for that speaking."[1]

Mary sent for Knox to Holyrood, and Erskine of Dun accompanied him to the palace. She reminded the preacher how she had borne with his hard speeches, sought his favour by all possible means, and offered him audience whensoever it pleased him to admonish her,—but still he railed at her. Knox says she was in "a vehement fume," and wept copiously all the time, the serving boy not being able to supply her with napkins enough to dry her eyes. To her remonstrance he answered, "Madam, in preaching I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth." "But what have you to do," said she passionately, "with my marriage? or what are you in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same," said Knox proudly; "and albeit I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me—how abject that ever I am in your eyes—a profitable member within the same." He told Mary that far from delighting in the weeping of any of God's creatures he could scarcely abide the tears of his own boys when he whipped them. Knox withdrew, and while waiting for Erskine he occupied his time in moralising to the "fair ladies" in waiting on their pomps and vanities and "gay gear."

The Assembly met at Perth on the 25th June 1563, and issued commissions, which were to last for a year, to the bishops of Galloway, Orkney, and Caithness to plant new churches in their dioceses. Similar commissions were granted to a number of ministers in other districts. A more singular order was given by the Assembly to the superintendents to examine all books and manuscripts

[1] Knox, p. 290.

on religious subjects, and to permit nothing to be circulated but what had met with their approval. Liberty of the press was as foreign to the mind of the Protestants as it had been to the mind of the Roman hierarchy.[1]

In the autumn of the year the queen made a progress to the western counties; and while she was at Stirling her private chapel in Holyrood was invaded by Protestants on a Sunday when the worshippers, who included others besides the queen's servants, were assembled for mass. The result was a riot which had to be quelled by the magistrates. Two of the rioters were identified and summoned to underlie the law; whereupon Knox issued a fiery manifesto, in the form of a circular letter, calling upon the leading men of the Congregation to convene in Edinburgh on the day of the trial, "for the advancement of God's glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance." Knox's device had been long familiar to the Scots. Feudal barons used to muster their armed retainers in court to overawe the magistrates, and the Protestants more than once during the Reformation struggle had recourse to the same strategy. Unfortunately for Knox, a copy of his circular fell into the hands of bishop Sinclair, president of the Court of Session, who showed it to the queen. Knox was thereupon cited before the Council to answer for illegally convening the queen's lieges for treasonable objects. Mary thought she had now caught Knox in his own toils, and when she saw him at the farther end of the table she remarked to Maitland, "Yon man made me greet, and grat never a tear himself: I will see if I can cause him greet." The Council was composed largely of members of the Congregation, who took a favourable view of Knox's defence "that he made convo-

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 14-16; Calderwood, ii. 223-229; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 71-77.

cation of the people to hear prayers and sermon almost daily." Mary retorted smartly, "I say nothing against your religion or against your convening to your sermons. But what authority have you to convocate my subjects when ye will, without my commandment?" Knox pleaded that he had acted at the command of the Kirk, and ended by an attack upon "the pestilent papists who are sons of the devil, and must therefore obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning." He was interrupted by the remark, which had a touch of humour in it, that he was not now in his pulpit. Knox was acquitted, and on leaving the Council he addressed the queen, "I pray God to purge your heart from papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers." The like language addressed to queen Elizabeth would have sent him to the Tower. "That night," he adds with evident glee, "were neither dancing nor fiddling in her court, for madam was disappointed of her purpose."[1]

An incident which happened in the spring of 1565 shows the bitterness of partisan feeling between Protestant and Papist. Knox, who gives the story in full,[2] writes that the protestant communion was administered in Edinburgh on the 1st April, and that when some Romanists celebrated their Easter communion, the priest, named Tarbet, was seized, along with the master of the house and one or two more of his assistants, and taken to the Tolbooth, where the priest was rehabilitated in his vestments, carried to the market cross, and bound to it for an hour, chalice in hand, while the women and children pelted him with Easter eggs.[3] Next day Tarbet was convicted

[1] Knox, *Hist.* pp. 296-299. Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*, ii. 54-57.

[2] *Hist.* pp. 323, 324.

[3] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 197.

at an assize (the first day's proceedings had not even the colour of law); "and albeit," writes Knox, "for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment he was set upon the market cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him while the boys and others were busy with eggs casting." The papists interposed, there was a riot, and presently the provost and the town's halberdiers carried the priest back to the Tolbooth. Such was the price paid for an Easter communion at Edinburgh in 1565. Knox has not a word of censure for the disgraceful treatment of a man who was no doubt as sincere in his religious convictions as himself. Probably he thought that the priest escaped cheaply for an act which by the protestant laws deserved death.

Offence had been taken by the lord James, now earl of Moray, at Knox's intemperate language, and for eighteen months they were estranged from each other. On the eve of the queen's marriage they were reconciled; and from that date there was a change in Moray's attitude as to the queen's free exercise of her religion, for which he had hitherto claimed tolerance. The Assembly of June 1565 appointed a commission of "the church national" to present six articles to the queen, desiring her to ratify the same in Parliament. The first article subjected the queen to the same penalties as her subjects for "the papistical and blasphemous mass"; the second aimed at better provision for the ministers, and for "their trial and admission by the superintendents and overseers"; the third required "that none be permitted to have charge of souls, colleges, or universities, but such as were tried by the superintendents and found sound in doctrine"; the fourth recommended the recovery of portions of the Church lands and rents for the sustenta-

tion of the poor and of town schools; the fifth craved that various "horrible crimes," including witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, should be suppressed; and the sixth was framed "to ease the poor labourers of the ground," who were oppressed by the tithe leasers set over their heads.[1]

With some exceptions, which will be obvious to the reader, the legislation desired by the Assembly was highly commendable. The articles were submitted to the queen's Council, and answers made that her Majesty could not forsake the religion in which she had been nourished; and that while liberty of conscience was given to her subjects, they should not press her conscience. With some qualifications the second article was granted, and the others were to be submitted to Parliament.

The queen was in Dunkeld when the five commissioners presented the above articles to her. On her return to Edinburgh by St. Johnstone (Perth) it was rumoured that the protestant lords, Moray, Argyll, and others, meant to intercept and capture her and Darnley at the pass of Drone by the Ochils; but Mary was early in the saddle and outstripped them by a couple of hours, never slackening rein until she reached Queensferry. She proceeded the same night to Callendar, near Falkirk, where she was present at the baptism of lord Livingstone's child, and heard, for the first time, a protestant sermon, "which," adds Knox, "was reckoned a great matter."

Knox, who lectured the ladies of the Court on their vanities, gave proof that with all his sternness he was not insensible to the charms of the fair sex. In the third year of his widowhood, at the mature age of sixty, he took for his second wife a daughter of lord Ochiltree who

[1] Knox's *Works*, Laing's ed. ii. 484-490.

was then in her seventeenth year.[1] The marriage took place on Palm Sunday, and was the subject of gossip for some time both in court circles and in cottage homes, but the Ochiltree family were said to have been pleased with the match. Knox is described at this period as a clerical dandy, and some of his critics also refer to his Anglicised speech due to his long residence in England and among English people abroad. These are both characteristics, "Anglified and dandified," which are not commonly associated with the name of John Knox.[2]

The public talk about Knox and his wedding gave place to comment on a marriage of more moment to the nation. Mary also had spent a widowhood of three years, and had been wooed by kings and princes near and far. Queen Elizabeth in her diplomacy, which was a web of duplicity all through, opposed each suitor in turn. She professed to encourage her own favourite Dudley, whom she had recently made earl of Leicester, but nothing was farther from her wishes. In her heart she had no desire that the queen of the Scots should marry at all, because she could not brook the idea of any child of Mary succeeding her on the English throne. Mary ended the diplomatic duplicity by accepting the hand of her cousin, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox, and after herself the nearest heir to the *English* throne.

[1] It was currently reported at the time that Knox had proposed to a daughter of the duke of Chatelherault and had been refused. His first wife was a Miss Marjory Bowes, whom he met at Berwick, daughter of Sir Robert Bowes, a courtier under Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI. Of this marriage Knox had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, both educated at St. John's college, Cambridge. The elder became a Fellow of his college, and was therefore an ordained priest of the Church of England, and died in 1580. The younger became vicar of Clacton-Magna in Essex, and died there in 1591. The gravestone bears the inscription: "The Rev. Eleazer Knox, son of the Scots Reformer, and vicar of the parish." Neither son left issue.—M'Crie's *Life*, ii. 268.

[2] Laing's edition of Knox's *Works*, vi. 532, 533.

The queen was then in her twenty-second year and Darnley in his nineteenth. Sir James Melvil, envoy from Scotland to Elizabeth, who knew Darnley well at the English Court, describes him at this time as "a lusty young prince, handsome, beardless, and lady-faced."[1] His worst features were not in his face. He was a vain conceited youth, hot and unbridled in temper, and addicted to vices, of all which the queen was unhappily ignorant.[2] He was in no way worthy of Mary, nor of the honour which her choice had conferred upon him, and his elevation ripened his worst qualities. This ill-starred alliance was Mary's first fatal mistake. The marriage was performed according to the Roman ritual in the private chapel at Holyrood, by John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, at the early hour of six in the morning, on Sunday 29th July 1565. Mary attended mass after the marriage, but Darnley withdrew in the company of some protestant lords. Next day he was proclaimed king of the Scots at the market cross of Edinburgh.[3]

A dispensation had been procured for the marriage from the pope, Mary and Darnley being in relationship within the degrees forbidden by canon law. Pius IV. had not abandoned the hope of reclaiming Scotland to the Roman faith through the agency of the queen. In the previous year, June 1564, he had sent her the Acts of the Council of Trent with a letter in which he asks her to dismiss all heretics from her council, and to urge the two metropolitans

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 83, 94.

[2] Cardinal de Lorraine called him "un gentil hutaudeau." — Teulet, *R. P.* ii. 199.

[3] "From a contemporary Italian document, addressed to Cosmo de Medici, and published by Labanoff (*Recueil de Lettres*, tom. vii. p. 60), it appears that Mary had been secretly married to Darnley at Stirling, early in April. This is confirmed by the letters of Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, to Catherine de Medici, quoted by Teulet." (Bellesheim, iii. 81, translator's note.) See Teulet's *Relations Politiques avec l'Ecosse*, ii. 193, for de Foix's letter, dated 26th April.

to enforce the decrees of Trent. Neither of them was in a position at the time to enforce anything, for Hamilton was in prison and Beaton in exile. Mary answered the pope that she would do her utmost to enforce the decrees of Trent—a vain promise; and to recover to the faith those that had fallen from it, which was an equally vain hope.[1]

A few weeks before her marriage Mary issued a proclamation "certifying and assuring all her good subjects, that, as they had not hitherto been molested in the quiet using of their religion and conscience, so should they not be disquieted in that behalf in any time to come."[2] In ordinary circumstances the religious toleration proclaimed by the sovereign would have been gladly accepted by subjects. It is all that is contended for in the present age when civil and religious liberty has become a constitutional watchword. But it was not the liberty desiderated then by the dominant faction. Liberty with them meant tyranny over others, the power to crush and exterminate the professors of every religion but their own. The queen was, so far, both fair and consistent; and in a letter to the Assembly she demanded the same freedom of conscience for herself in matters of religion that she freely accorded her subjects. Mary's adherence to her inherited faith through good and evil fortune, and in spite of many temptations to be false to it, is the chief redeeming feature in her tragic history.

[1] Bellesheim, iii. 79.

[2] Robertson *Statuta*, p. clxix.

## CHAPTER IV

### REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, 1565-1567

Rebellion of nobles—Knox abets the rebels and is summoned before the Council—Filling of vacant sees—Queen's alleged connection with a foreign League to oppress Protestants—Murder of Rizzio—Darnley's complicity—Knox leaves Edinburgh—Birth of prince James—His baptism by archbishop Hamilton—Confession of Faith by Swiss Reformers sent to Scotland—Contrast with Scottish Confession—Ecclesiastical polity of the time—Revival of the primate's consistorial jurisdiction—Divorce of Bothwell—Darnley's murder—Queen's capture by Bothwell—Their marriage—Queen's imprisonment in Lochleven—George Buchanan moderator of Assembly, 1567—Its Resolutions—Deposition of the queen—Moray made Regent.

THE marriage of the queen was the signal for rebellion by a section of the nobles. The duke of Chatelherault (Hamilton) opposed the marriage, partly out of dislike to the Lennox family, but chiefly because it diminished the chances of his own family's succession to the throne. The earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and some others, raised the cry of the Protestant Church in danger, and the earl of Moray, the leader of the disaffected, harped on the same string in a letter to Elizabeth. She, with her usual duplicity, stirred up the troubles from jealousy of queen Mary and disappointment at the union of the two nearest heirs to the English Crown, whom she would probably have played off against each other, had their interests remained separate. The revolt of the nobles was speedily crushed by the energy

of Mary, and the rebel lords were condemned in Parliament and attainted.[1]

Knox abetted the rebels, and preached in St. Giles' against "the regimen of godless princes" and "that harlot Jezebel," and how "the people were punished for not taking order against them by having boys and women set over them." Darnley, who was present—he now vacillated between sermons in St. Giles' and an occasional mass in Holyrood[2]—took deep offence at the abusive language. Knox honestly admits that he "had tarried an hour or more longer in preaching than the time appointed; and that the king, sitting in a throne made for that purpose, was so moved at this sermon that he would not dine; and being troubled, with great fury he passed in the afternoon to the hawking."[3] The preacher was summoned before the Council, but they were as little successful in reasoning with him as the queen had been. The Council ordered him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and Craig, his colleague, to take his place. Enforced silence was perhaps the sorest penalty they could have inflicted upon Knox.

The cause of the Congregation was seriously weakened by the banishment of the rebel lords, and Mary took advantage of their absence to extend favours to her Roman Catholic subjects. Several of the nobles now went to mass in her chapel, as did also the king, and friars were once more permitted to preach. Two episcopal sees were vacant, and the time was deemed opportune for filling them. Donald Campbell, who had been bishop-elect of Brechin, but never consecrated, died in 1562; and Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross and president of the Court of Session, died in Paris early in 1565. John

[1] Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, pp. 70, 71.

[2] Teulet, *R. P.* ii. 259.

[3] *Hist. Ref.* p. 332.

Sinclair, who had celebrated the queen's marriage, became bishop of Brechin, and also president of the Court of Session in succession to his brother. The new president was an eminent jurist, and one of the few moderate churchmen who advocated such a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses as would have preserved the integrity and continuity of the Church. Unfortunately he died in the first year of his episcopate, and his successor in Brechin was Alexander Campbell, a second cadet and nominee of the house of Argyll, who was never consecrated, but did what was no doubt expected of him,—he alienated the properties of the see to his noble patron, who was already laden with the spoils of western bishoprics and monasteries, and who carefully concealed the titles of the same when called to make count and reckoning. Bishop Henry Sinclair was succeeded in the see of Ross by John Leslie, Official of Aberdeen. He became the zealous advocate of the unfortunate queen, whom he loyally served in perils and in prisons, and the historian of the tragic scenes in which he played an honourable part.[1]

Knox had probably good grounds for suspecting that the queen was aiming by this policy at a relaxation of the laws which pressed upon her Catholic subjects. The history of the period implicates Mary in a political intrigue of a more questionable character. Catherine de Medici, the queen-dowager of France, and the duke of Alva, representing the interests of Spain, had met in the summer of 1565 at Bayonne, and concocted a League which was to unite the Roman Catholic sovereigns on the Continent in a common crusade against Protestantism. Two envoys came from France to Scotland, the one from

[1] Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 165, 194, 198-200; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 79; Irving's *Scottish Writers*, i. 122-127. See as to Leslie's consecration at Rome, Innes's *Critical Essay*, i. 290, 291.

cardinal Lorraine, and the other from archbishop Beaton, who acted as Mary's ambassador, to obtain the queen's adherence to the League. Tytler states without any reserve that in an evil hour Mary joined it. Burton quotes Tytler, and seems to agree with him, adding that, "whether in the form of a bond or not, beyond doubt Mary was the close ally of the king of Spain in all his formidable views and projects for crushing the new religion." Randolph, the English envoy in Scotland, wrote to Cecil on the 7th February 1566 that "there was a band lately devised in which the late pope (Pius IV.), the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, with other princes of Italy and the queen-mother, were suspected to be of the same confederacy to maintain papistry throughout Christendom. This band was sent out of France by Thornton, and is subscribed by this queen." Dr. Grub challenges the evidence on which queen Mary has been accused of joining the League. The evidence points to a strong suspicion against Mary, but it seems hardly sufficient to convict her of putting her hand to the bond.[1]

Mary was soon after embroiled in domestic troubles which diverted her attention from foreign politics. A Piedmontese of humble origin, named David Rizzio, who had been in her service at the French Court, became, from his musical gifts, a singer in her private chapel. His knowledge of languages commended him for the office of private secretary, although Sir James Melvil says that he wrote French so badly that Mary had often to rewrite his letters. A temporary estrangement between the queen and Maitland, secretary of State, threw additional duties

[1] See Tytler, v. 331; Burton, iv. 135, 136; Thomas Wright's *Queen Elizabeth, and her Times*, i. 219, 220; Grub, ii. 147, and references. Wright says in a note that "there seems to be no doubt that Mary had secretly joined the confederacy."

upon Rizzio, and he became inordinately vain and conceited. The nobles were jealous of him, and indignant that a foreigner in birth and an alien in religion should have so close an intimacy with the queen. Rizzio's dress, manners, and conduct all told against him. Melvil warned him to walk warily in the midst of men who had each a dagger ready for him.[1] Rizzio represented his danger to the queen, but she was a high-spirited woman, and intolerant of dictation in what she considered her own private affairs. "If the sovereign," she said, "finds a man of low estate, poor in means, but generous in mind, faithful in heart, and well adapted to fill an office in his service, will he not dare to intrust him with any authority, because the nobles who already possess power are ever craving for more."[2] The doomed secretary gave additional offence to the protestant nobility by advising Mary not to pardon the banished nobles. Darnley was no less hostile to him, believing that his influence withheld the queen from conferring on him "the crown-matrimonial," which would, in case of Mary's death, have passed the crown to her husband and his issue.[3]

At this critical juncture Parliament was summoned in March 1566. The chief business was to pass a bill of attainder against the earl of Moray and the other rebel lords. But it was easier said than done. Moray was not without friends at Court, and these friends had recourse to the usual Scottish device—a secret bond. Meanwhile the Protestants in Edinburgh had proclaimed a public fast on the Sunday, and sermons were preached on such subjects as the destruction of Oreb and Zeb, the death of Sisera, and the hanging of Haman. On Saturday evening of that week, 9th March 1566, the conspirators in the

[1] Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 109.

[2] Grub, ii. 148.

[3] Burton, *Hist.* iv. 138.

bond accomplished their object—the murder of Rizzio. The queen was at supper with the ladies of the Court, Darnley stood by her chair, not ignorant of the plot, when lord Ruthven, who had risen from a sickbed, followed by George Douglas, Darnley's cousin, and others, entered the room. Rizzio was seized while clinging to the dress of the queen for protection, dragged out of the apartment, and slain in an outer chamber, stabbed in fifty places.[1] In the scuffle, Black, a Dominican friar, was also killed.

The conspirators are said to have been ready with proposals to confer the crown matrimonial on Darnley, to compel the queen to confirm the protestant religion, and to ratify the proceedings of the banished lords, under the penalty of her death or perpetual imprisonment.[2] Mary outmanœuvred them by persuading Darnley to sever himself from his evil associates, and flee with her to Dunbar. There she was joined by archbishop Hamilton, now released from prison, the earl of Huntly, who had been restored to his father's titles, and the earls of Atholl, Bothwell, and others. She was soon at the head of 8000 men; and on her march to Edinburgh the conspirators fled. The queen intimated her success to the bishop of Dunblane, who was then in Rome, and asked him to inform the new pope (Pius V.), and to intreat his aid and sympathy. She had previously requested the same favour, and his Holiness sent the bishop of Mendovi with a hundred thousand crowns, but the envoy never got farther than Paris, and returned to Rome, blaming Mary's indifference for the failure of his mission.[3]

It is an open question whether Knox was privy to the plot to assassinate Rizzio. Tytler says that he was, and

[1] Teulet, *Relations*, etc. ii. 261; Tytler, v. 345 and note p. 501.

[2] Tytler, v. 348.

[3] See Keith, ii. 600, 601, and Labanoff, i. 370; vii. 107, 108.

gives the evidence at great length. One thing is certain, that he afterwards heartily approved of the murder as a "just act most worthy of all praise." "To let the world understand," he writes, "in plain terms what we mean, that great abuse of this commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave Davie (Rizzio) was justly punished on the 9th of March."[1] A week after the secretary's murder, on Sunday the 17th March, Knox fled from Edinburgh, which strengthened the suspicions against him, and "buried himself in the friendly recesses of Kyle," while Craig, his colleague, remained in the city. He did not return to Edinburgh until after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven.

More important to Mary than the disputed guilt of Knox was the question of Darnley's guilt. Upon being accused he denied complicity in the crime, and then basely revealed the names of the conspirators. When the bond was afterwards shown to the queen, bearing her husband's name, it was the deathblow to any lingering affection or respect she may have felt for him.[2]

Mary gave birth to a son in the castle of Edinburgh, 19th June 1566. There were difficulties in the way of the prince's baptism, but on the 9th October the mother informed the pope that she had obtained the consent of her nobles to have him baptized according to the Roman rite. Two months more elapsed, and on 17th December the child was baptized under the names Charles James, in the chapel royal, Stirling, by the primate Hamilton,[3] attended by other bishops, and in presence of the queen

[1] See Tytler, v. note, 498-507; Burton, iv. 150; M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, ii. 145, 146.

[2] Teulet, *Relations*, etc. ii. 265, 266.

[3] The archbishop would have used the spittle, which is part of the Roman ritual for baptism, but the queen forbad it, with a stinging remark reflecting upon the primate's immoral life.—Robertson, *Statuta*, ii. 309; Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 286.

and distinguished sponsors, by proxy, for queen Elizabeth, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy. Some of the noblemen refused to be present at the service because it was popish, and the countess of Argyll, who was proxy for queen Elizabeth, had to do penance by order of the General Assembly for her presence on the occasion.[1] Darnley absented himself from the baptism, resenting the refusal of Elizabeth's envoys to address him as king. The baptism of the prince was the last public sacramental act of the old Roman hierarchy.

In the month of September the superintendents and ministers had met at St. Andrews to consider a Confession of Faith compiled by the Swiss Reformers. In their answer, addressed to Beza, the Scottish Protestants express entire agreement with the doctrines of their Helvetian brethren except on one point. "This one thing, however," they reply, "we can scarcely refrain from mentioning with regard to what is written in the 24th chapter of the aforesaid Confession, concerning the festivals of our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending the Holy Ghost upon His disciples, that these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast day than what the divine oracles have prescribed. Everything else, as we have said, we teach, approve, and most willingly embrace."[2] The Scottish Protestants at this time were the only religious community in Christendom that disowned the fasts and festivals of the Christian year.

During the six years that had run since the Reformation of 1560, the Roman Catholic prelates held their seats in Parliament and in Council, as did also the titular protestant bishops recently appointed. It was an

[1] Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 486. [2] Knox, *Hist.* p. 348; Grub, ii. 152.

unsatisfactory medley of ecclesiastical polity. Probably Mary and her advisers clung to this vestige of the old establishment in the hope that a day of restitution would come. Some such hope may have prompted her at this time when she re-invested archbishop Hamilton with his former consistorial jurisdiction. It was an ill-advised step —as impolitic as it was illegal. One of the primate's acts in this court was to grant, on the ground of consanguinity, a decree of divorce between Bothwell and lady Jane Gordon, sister of Huntly, to whom he had been married but a few months. Four days before, Bothwell had been divorced in the protestant Commissary Court, Edinburgh, for adultery.[1] This divorce was the first act in a very painful tragedy. The Assembly memorialised the Privy Council against the "usurped authority of the cruel murderer of our dear brethren, most falsely styled archbishop of St. Andrews,"[2] and Knox inveighed in no measured terms against the primate's exercise of consistorial powers. For a brief hour the archbishop was triumphant. He rode into Edinburgh in January 1567, at the head of a hundred horsemen, his own retainers, with all the prelatic pride and pomp of other days. The capital had been ecclesiastically the second city of his diocese, as St. Andrews was the first, but he was now as unpopular in Edinburgh as on a former occasion he had been in St. Andrews, when Knox first measured his strength against him. Threatened by the populace, the primate withdrew from the capital, and we hear little more of him until we find him made prisoner in Dunbarton castle, and, soon after, the victim of the halter at Stirling.

Immediately after the baptism of his son, Darnley, still sulking, went from Stirling to reside with his father,

[1] Roberston, *Statuta*, p. clxxx. [2] Burton, iv. 220.

"Old Lennox," in Glasgow. His life had been daily becoming more dissolute; no one at Court respected him, no one cared for him. As a last resource he allied himself with the extreme section of the Roman Catholics, who were dissatisfied with what they regarded as the temporising policy of queen Mary, and with them he entered on the mad enterprise of establishing the papal religion in both England and Scotland. So much for the wayward youth who, on his wedding day, three years before, would not countenance a celebration of the mass.

At Glasgow, Darnley was seized with small-pox. Knox attributed his sickness to poison. Mary sent her physician, and, at Darnley's request, visited him in person, when a reconciliation was believed to have been effected.[1] It is difficult to sift the truth to the bottom. A woman's heart is a deep well, and the water is not always clear. It is hard to decide whether the queen was a conspirator or a victim. The whole ground quaked with treachery.[2] Mary suggested her husband's removal to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Lennox was suspicious of the proposal, and so was Darnley,—perhaps both uncharitably so far as regarded the queen. Craigmillar castle was first named; and ultimately the house of the provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-fields[3] was selected for Darnley's convalescent home. Thither he was borne by easy stages, and there Mary visited him, for the last time on Sunday evening, 9th February. Next night the house was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley's dead body, nearly naked, was found in the

[1] Hossack's *Mary Queen of Scots*, i. 186.

[2] The most recent attempt to unravel the entanglement and clear the queen is Dr. Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, pp. 91-101.

[3] Where Edinburgh University now stands.

adjoining garden, unscathed by fire, and strangled, as was the general belief.[1]

Suspicion of the murder fell upon many, including the queen herself; but if she may charitably be exonerated from so terrible a charge, no extenuation can avail for her subsequent conduct. The prime instigator of the deed was Bothwell, aided by a conspiracy of nobles who had pledged themselves in the usual fashion by a secret bond. Mary's relatives in France wrote to her, as did also archbishop Beaton from Paris, entreating her to clear herself from complicity in the crime, and to do so by bringing the conspirators at once to condign punishment.[2] The earl of Lennox came forward and demanded judgment on the murderers of his son, reminding Mary in a pathetic letter of the duty she owed to the country, and to bear with him in troubling her Highness, he "being the fader to him that is gone."[3] A collusive trial took place at an assize, and Bothwell was acquitted, his acquittal being confirmed by a Parliament largely composed of his own confederates, which met in April immediately after the trial.

On the evening that the Parliament rose, 19th April, Bothwell entertained his confederates at a banquet in Ainslie's tavern, where another secret bond—"Ainslie's

[1] Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 155; Burton, *Hist.* iv. 190. Tytler, v. 384, says that Darnley's cries for mercy were heard by some women in the neighbouring house. Tytler also gives evidence of the penitence and devotion of the invalid king in his last days.

[2] See note in Robertson's *Statuta*, i. xii., quoting the unpublished letter from Father Thomas Innes to bishop Keith, dated Paris, 26th February 1731. "As to our bishops being concerned in the bond to Bothwell, though I would not answer for Sir James Balfour's fidelity, from whom we have the transcript, you need not expect that I will be an apologist of the bishops of those times, except of one, that is archbishop Beaton, of whom we have an original in his own hand, being a minute of his letter to queen Mary against that infamous marriage. It is truly episcopal, and worthy of a great bishop." Beaton attributed Darnley's murder to queen Elizabeth.—Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 26.

[3] Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 525.

bond"—was signed, declaring Bothwell's innocence of the king's murder, and recommending "this noble and mighty lord" as a suitable husband for the queen.[1] Five days after the date of this bond, Mary, who had been visiting her child at Stirling, was waylaid on her return at Almond bridge, between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, by Bothwell and his armed retainers, and carried to his castle at Dunbar.[2] Three short months after the death of Darnley, on the 15th of May, Mary was married to Bothwell in the Council Hall of Holyrood, by Adam Bothwell, protestant bishop of Orkney.[3] Death would have been preferable to such a dishonourable union. Contemporary records reveal how utterly miserable the fallen queen was in her sense of shame. Melvil, whose fidelity to his royal mistress never wavered, reports: "I heard her ask for a knife to stab herself, or else, said she, I shall drown myself."[4]

Within a month it was all over, and Mary was a prisoner in Lochleven. The confederate lords, including several signers of the Ainslie bond, raised a sufficient force to march against Bothwell; and the queen, thankful to escape from an evil alliance, surrendered to Kirkaldy of Grange at Carberry Hill, six miles from Edinburgh, upon conditions which were not afterwards fulfilled,—no blame to Kirkaldy, who soon after became her devoted adherent, and continued so to the end of his life, which

[1] See Tytler, v. 401, and Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 565.

[2] Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 158. Melvil was riding in the queen's company when the capture was made. He says that "Bothwell took her majesty's horse by the bridle, and that his men took the earl of Huntly, Lethington the secretary, and himself, and carried them captives to Dunbar, the rest being let go free."

[3] The bishop had been canonically consecrated during the establishment of the papal hierarchy. He became a preacher, and a judge in the Court of Session. The marriage was, of course, after the Protestant form.—Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 554 note; Teulet, *Relations*, etc. ii. 294.

[4] *Memoirs*, p. 161.

he sacrificed in her service.[1] Mary was taken to Edinburgh where she was insulted by the people in the streets, and especially, it is said, by the women and the soldiers.[2] On the 16th of June she entered on her brief imprisonment in Lochleven.

The Assembly which met on the 25th of June is memorable for the election of George Buchanan as moderator. His name has already been mentioned as the lampooner of the Franciscans in the reign of James V., and as one of the refugees who escaped from Scotland during the papal persecutions on the eve of the Reformation. Since then he had been on the Continent, in different lands, sharing various fortunes, including incarceration in a Portuguese prison where he wrote his Latin psalter. He was born in the Lennox about 1506, studied first in St. Andrews, and then in Paris where he became, in 1530, one of the four university procurators. His Latinity was marked by singular elegance of style, and he possessed an incomparable vein of poesy; in both respects he is said to have excelled all his contemporaries. His Latin version of the Psalms was dedicated to queen Mary, whom he clothed with many virtues, and eulogised as the *Nympha Caledoniæ*. The queen had invited him home, read the Latin classics with him at Holyrood, made him principal of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews, and gave him from the temporal revenues of the abbey of Crossraguel an annual pension of 500 pounds Scots.[3] When Mary fell upon evil days, Buchanan

[1] Skelton, in his spirited defence of Maitland of Lethington, writes with much appreciation of Kirkaldy, whom he describes as "the noblest man in Scotland, the mirror of chivalry." He went over to Mary's side after the production of the famous "Casket Letters," in the genuineness of which he evidently had no faith. Skelton's *Maitland of Lethington*, ii. 288. For the "Casket Letters," see Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, pp. 120-133.

[2] Tytler, v. 427.

[3] Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, 2nd ed. 1817, pp. 96, 123; *Historical Account of Family of Kennedy*, Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club), p. 92.

became her bitterest enemy, and wrote his political treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, to justify the rebellion of her subjects. His history of Scotland was written in old age, when probably he lacked the necessary energy to sift out the mass of fabulous matter incorporated in the earlier histories.

The Assembly which elected Buchanan to the moderator's chair was adjourned for a month, and met again 21st July. The queen's lords were not present; representing the associated barons, known later as king's lords, there were the earls of Mar, Morton, Glencairn,[1] and the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Ochiltree, Maitland the secretary, and Kirkaldy of Grange. One conspicuous figure was absent, that of Moray who had betaken himself to France after his sister's hopeless entanglement with Bothwell, whom he hated and feared. The Assembly agreed once more to the Acts of Parliament that established the Protestant religion in 1560, renewed their resolutions to secure a proper provision for the reformed ministry out of the patrimony of the old Church, resolved that all sovereigns should, on their coronation, "make their faithful league and promise to the true kirk" to defend its religion in the manner prescribed in the books of Deuteronomy and Kings—which meant the extermination of "idolaters." It was also agreed to avenge the king's death, and to take precautions for bringing up the young prince James in the Protestant faith.[2]

The associated barons were meanwhile debating the

[1] As soon as the queen was out of Holyrood, Glencairn wrecked her private chapel. He was no prentice hand at the work of destruction, for he had been a great wrecker of "idolatry" in the west country, and as great a plunderer of the "idolaters'" lands and heritages.

[2] Calderwood, ii. 377-384; *Book of Universal Kirk*, pp. 54-69; Knox, *Hist.* p. 358; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 164-184; Tytler, v. 435.

thorny question, What was to be done with the queen? Most of them agreed to her deposition, a few proposed her confinement for life in a French convent, and others insisted upon bringing her at once to trial and execution. This last measure was warmly advocated by the protestant ministers, led by Knox, who had now returned from England, where he had been visiting his sons, both of whom were priests in the English Church.[1] The deposition of the queen was at last determined on, and the deeds of abdication were sent to Lochleven by lord Lindsay, a bitter puritan and personally obnoxious to the queen, who terrified her by threats until she hurriedly took the pen and signed the deed of abdication. It was on the 24th July 1567, and whether Mary realised it then or not, it was her farewell to the throne of Scotland.[2]

The earl of Moray, on being appointed regent during the infancy of the king, was called home to accept the office. At first he declined, with many professions of modesty in which few believed, for public rumour gave him credit for aiming still higher. Before visiting his sister in Lochleven the nobles "who did still bear a great love unto the queen prayed him in their name to behave himself gently and humbly unto the queen." Mary received him with tears, but instead of showing gentleness, to which even pity for her misfortunes, if not gratitude for her past favours, might have moved him, he reproached her bitterly with all her misdoings, and frightened her with the prospects of an ignominious death, until she was fain to entreat him as a brother to save her life and accept the regency.[3] Moray returned to Edinburgh regent of Scotland, "leaving a heart like to break" in Lochleven. "The injuries of his

[1] Keith's *Affairs*, i. cx.-cxv., and ii. 655-716; Tytler, v. 444, 448, 449, 451.

[2] For lord Lindsay's conduct, see Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, p. 113.

[3] Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, p. 113.

language was such," says Sir James Melvil,[1] "that they cut the thread of love and credit betwixt the queen and him for ever." [2]

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 174.

[2] Moray assured the French king that his object in returning to Scotland was to rescue queen Mary from imprisonment. Archbishop Beaton said he had no faith in Moray's fair speech, that he was a great heretic, and the mortal enemy of his sister. —Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 36.

# CHAPTER V

## JAMES VI.—REGENCIES OF MORAY, LENNOX, AND MAR, 1567-1573

Coronation of prince James—Prosecution of Roman Catholics—Parliament of 1567 confirms Reformation settlement and Confession of Faith, makes provision for stipends—Assembly of 1567 deals with bishop Bothwell—Mary's escape from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Mary a fugitive in England—Assembly's censorship of the press—Moray "reforming" Aberdeen University and burning witches—Degrading of Roman priests—Moray's plot against queen Mary—His assassination, career, and character—Lennox made regent—Meeting of Knox, Craig, and Winram, with Kirkaldy and Maitland in Edinburgh castle—Knox at St. Andrews—Capture of archbishop Hamilton in Dumbarton castle and his execution at Stirling—His character—Anomalous state of Church parties—Church lands, how they went—Erskine of Dun on the office of bishop—Convention of Leith and titular Episcopacy—Douglas made titular primate—John Knox and Episcopacy—Knox returns to Edinburgh—His last illness, death, and character—Edinburgh castle surrendered—Death of Maitland and execution of Kirkaldy—Morton regent.

IMMEDIATELY upon lord Lindsay's return from Lochleven with the deeds of abdication[1] signed by the queen, the associated barons hastened the coronation of the prince. He was crowned as James VI. in the parish church of Stirling, 29th July 1567, the anniversary of his parents' marriage, in the presence of five earls and twice as many barons, the only representatives present from the nobility.[2] The bishop of Orkney placed the crown on his head and

[1] The three deeds are given in Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 706-712.

[2] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 336, 337.

anointed him, while the earl of Morton with his hand on the Gospels took the oaths for the sovereign. Knox had opposed the anointing as a Jewish ceremony, preaching on the crowning of Joash and the slaughter of Athaliah—a very bad type of queen-mother, and suggestive of inferences. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador, was present at Knox's preaching and made the following remark upon it: "This day being at Mr. Knox's sermon who took a piece of the Scripture forth of the Books of the Kings and did inveigh vehemently against the Queen, and persuaded extremities towards her by application of his text."[1] The ambassador suggested to some members of the Council that they should advise the preachers not to intermeddle with State politics, but the Council knew better than to offer any such advice to the preachers, and especially to the intrepid Knox.[2]

The earl of Moray, after his interview with Mary, accepted the regency which, according to his own account, she passionately urged upon him. The queen in her subsequent "Appeal to all Christian princes" represents that she earnestly dissuaded him from accepting the office.[3] If Moray had ambition he had also some ability to sustain it; and but for the political factions which had long been the bane of Scotland, the country might have prospered under his rule. The larger section of the nobility were, however, hostile to him, some from jealousy of his advancement, some from loyalty to Mary. The few remaining nobles and the Protestant ministers composed the king's party which warmly supported Moray. He had also at his back the political influence of England which continued a potent factor in Scottish politics.

[1] Letter given in Keith's *Affairs*, ii. 687.

[2] Burton, *Hist.* iv. 284, 285.

[3] The "Appeal" was written at Carlisle in 1568.

The beginning of Moray's regency was marked by a prosecution of the Roman Catholics.[1] Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, and several prelates and priests were summoned to answer for the crime of saying and hearing mass. The bishop was further accused of "passing forth of this country without licence, and trafficking with the pope's nuncio and other his ministers," which was a matter of public notoriety, for the bishop had been indefatigable at home and abroad in the interests of the queen and the papacy. The bishop was deprived of his see and all its property, and his tenants and feuars were forbidden to make him any further payments "under pain of being held art and part with him in his wicked deeds and enormities." Various punishments were imposed upon the priests who appeared for trial, and those who did not appear were sentenced to outlawry and forfeiture.[2]

The Parliament met in Edinburgh 15th December 1567 for the despatch of important business. Maitland of Lethington, who was still in accord with Moray, made an able speech, more remarkable, according to Tytler,[3] for its talent than for its truthfulness. He praised the Scottish Reformation as being devoid of bloodshed, and contrasted it with the sanguinary struggles for religious freedom in England and on the Continent. On proceeding to business the Parliament accepted the queen's abdication, sanctioned the king's coronation and the regency of Moray, abolished once more the authority of the pope, confirmed the Confession of Faith, re-imposed the penalties of confiscation, banishment, and death for

[1] The regent had sworn, "Out of this realm of Scotland, I shall root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God."

[2] Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 31; *Register Priv. Council*, i. 569, and ii. 40.

[3] *Hist.* vi. 24, 25.

the saying and hearing of mass, declared the Church now established to be the only true Church, "the immaculate spouse of Christ." In confirmation of this, it decreed that no one should hereafter practise as procurator or notary in any court until he had made profession of the reformed faith. The ancient coronation oath, first imposed by papal bull in the last year of king Robert Bruce, to maintain the true Church and to extirpate heresy, was also approved by Parliament as it had previously been by the Assembly.[1]

The Parliament also dealt with the stipends of the ministers who had come (as stated in the preamble of the statute) "to such great poverty that unless speedily relieved they would be obliged to abandon their ministry." It was therefore enacted "that the hail thirds of the hail benefices of this realm sall now instantly, and in all time to come, first be paid to the ministers of the evangel of Jesus Christ, and their successors." This was intended merely as a temporary measure to relieve the present necessities of the ministers, and was only to last until "the kirk come to the full possession of their proper patrimony, quhilk is the teinds."[2] The full patri-

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iii. 3-25; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 184-186; Spottiswoode, *Hist.* ii. 83; Calderwood, ii. 388-392; Tytler, vi. 24-27; Burton, iv. 290. The coronation oath, with its exterminating clause, which was here taken in the name of James VI., was used on the coronation of Charles I. in 1633, and of Charles II. in 1651; and on this last occasion another oath was imposed to maintain the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant which bound its adherents to extirpate popery and prelacy. James VII. and II. of England declined the coronation oath. William III. objected to its persecuting clause, and only accepted it with mental reservations. Queen Anne, the last sovereign of the house of Stuart, accepted it without scruple or reserve. After the Union of the Parliaments a more moderate declaration was substituted, "which happily relieved all following princes from the wickedness and mockery of a cruel and impossible obligation." Robertson's *Statuta*, p. xlvii. *seq.* Bellesheim, *Hist.* iii. 156, refers to the persecuting oath of 1567, but is judiciously silent as to its papal origin in 1329.

[2] *Act. Parl. Scot.* iii. 37; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 107.

mony of the Church would have included the other temporalities as well as the tithes, but the ministers would gladly have compounded for a punctual payment of their thirds, which were now promised, but never paid, in full. In an Assembly of this year the protestations of the poverty of "kirkmen" were subscribed by about eighty of the most notorious impropriators of Church lands.[1] They were ready as usual to sign protestations, but none the less prepared to stand by their spoil and to let the ministers struggle on in their poverty. Some of the ministers' friends memorialised the regent, in August 1571, complaining that the temporal substance of the Church had all fallen into the hands of "dumb dogs."[2]

In the Assembly which met in Edinburgh at Christmas 1567, the superintendent of Fife and the bishops of Orkney and Caithness were admonished for neglecting visitation and for other offences. The bishop of Orkney was further dealt with for acting as a judge in the Court of Session "while his sheep were wandering without a pastor"; for keeping company with Sir Francis Bothwell, a papist, and giving him benefices; and lastly for solemnising the marriage of the queen and the earl of Bothwell —this last act being so flagrant in the Assembly's eyes that it was not purged by the bishop's subsequent pursuit, along with Kirkaldy of Grange, of the fugitive Bothwell in Orkney.[3] The bishop was sentenced to be deprived of office until he made suitable satisfaction and public profession of penitence in Holyrood chapel.[4] The earl of Argyll was also summoned and rebuked for non-conjugal relations with his wife, and his countess was at the same

[1] Burton, iv. 324.

[2] Bannatyne's *Memorials of Transactions in Scot.* p. 251.

[3] For an account of this pursuit see Spottiswoode, *Hist.* ii. 71-80.

[4] *Book of the Univ. Kirk*, pp. 70-73; Keith's *Affairs*, iii. 186-198; Calderwood, pp. 392-401.

time "ordained to make public repentance in the chapel-royal of Stirling upon ane Sunday in time of preaching" for having been present at the popish baptism of prince James.[1] The Assembly exercised its authority as a judicial court with impartial rigour, sparing neither prelate nor peer in its discipline.

The regent was energetic in restoring law and order; but not so energetic as justice demanded in prosecuting the murderers of Darnley. This task was both difficult and hazardous; for several of the nobles, who were now his prominent supporters, had been leaders in the conspiracy. Instead of aiming at the heads of "the band" he executed some of the subordinates, which only incensed public feeling against him. While his popularity was thus waning, news spread like wildfire that the queen had escaped from Lochleven. On a Sunday evening, 1st May 1568, Mary added to the romance of her life by effecting her escape, and next day was with her friends at Hamilton.[2] The regent was then in Glasgow, and soon gave proof that his powers were equal to the emergency by concentrating, in a week's time, troops sufficient to win the battle of Langside. Mary had wished to reach Dunbarton castle, once her temporary abode when as a guileless girl she was on her way to France, and still held by friends in her interest;[3] but the road was barred by the regent's troops, and the attempt to reach the castle brought on the engagement at Langside on 13th May, when the queen witnessed the final overthrow of her cause in Scotland. She is said now for the first time in her life to have lost her personal courage. Without slackening rein she rode on until she reached Dundrennan abbey by the Solway, sixty miles from the battlefield, intending to throw herself upon the

[1] *Book of Univ. Kirk*, p. 310.
[2] Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 41.
[3] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 343; *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 42.

promised protection of Elizabeth — a hasty and fatal resolve.[1]

The Assembly which met in Edinburgh, July 1568, exercised, not for the first time, an ecclesiastical censorship over the press. Thomas Bassandyne, a printer, was charged with publishing a profane ballad in an edition of the Psalm Book, and with an offence still more obnoxious, the publishing of a book, entitled *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, in which he spoke of the king as "supreme head of the primitive Church." On this subject the Assembly was keenly sensitive, and repudiated the nascent Erastianism of the age. The Assembly ordered Bassandyne "not to print without licence of the supreme magistrate, and revising of such things as pertain to religion by some of the kirk appointed to that purpose."[2] In 1574, in pursuance of the same object, it appointed a standing Committee "to oversee all manner of books or works that shall be proposed to be printed, and to give their judgment thereupon if the same be allowed and approved by the law of God or not; their judgment or opinion thereof, by their superscription and handwrit, to witness and testify for the relief of such as shall read the said works."[3]

The Assembly of 1568 also petitioned the regent for the reform of Aberdeen University, which Moray took in hand in the following year. The principal, Alexander

[1] Mary wrote to Elizabeth on the 15th May, two days after the battle, from Workington in Cumberland—"I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. It is my earnest request that your majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a queen, but even for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress than that in which I escaped from the field; my first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel except by night." Tytler, vi. 45; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 370. When at Carlisle queen Mary asked lord Scrope for a priest to say mass, and he assured her there was not one in England.—Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 49.

[2] *Book of Univ. Kirk*, p. 126.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 310.

Anderson, and the other officials were required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Acts of Parliament, 1560 and 1567, establishing the Protestant religion. Upon their refusal they were deprived of office.[1] The regent further signalised his zeal for the reformed faith on this occasion by burning witches at St. Andrews and Dundee.[2] Four Roman priests of Dunblane were, about this time, sentenced to death for saying mass, but were more fortunate than the witches in having their sentence commuted by the regent to something less painful, if not less ignominious. Vested in their priestly robes, and bearing missal and chalice in their hands, they were fastened to the market cross of Stirling where "the people cast eggs and other villainy at their faces by the space of an hour, and thereafter their vestments and chalices were burnt to ashes."[3] Humiliating as the spectacle must have been, there was still an element of clemency in it as compared with the papal method of dealing with heretics, in which something more vital was wont to be burned than goodly raiment and silver vessels.

The regent was very complacent to the Assembly and the Assembly to the regent, and both no doubt from conscientious motives. Moray had the reformed religion at heart, and was a consistent supporter of it throughout. He needed at this stage all the support that the ministers could bring him, for the Hamiltons and other leading families were becoming more hostile to his government; and two leading men, who had been Moray's friends in council for many years, Maitland the ablest statesman, and Kirkaldy the most capable soldier of their day, were estranged from the regent and joined the queen's party.

[1] *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 111-117.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 145

[3] *History of King James the Sext*, p. 66.

His enemies accused Moray of a design to usurp the crown; and a satirical squib, printed after his death, gave point to the accusation in a series of burlesque dialogues put into the mouths of Knox and others, professing to urge Moray to assume the sceptre. The author was Thomas Maitland, the secretary's brother, whom Knox attacked in the pulpit, and prophetically doomed to a bad end.

There is no evidence of the regent's complicity in any such design, but there is evidence of his plot, 2nd January 1570, to have queen Mary delivered into his hands, in exchange for the earl of Northumberland who was then a refugee in Scotland.[1] Knox wrote an enigmatical letter to Cecil, the English secretary, on the same subject, in which he says, "Danger known should be avoided. If ye strike not at the root, the branches that appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we could wish. . . . In haste, of Edinburgh, the second of Janur.—Yours to command in God, John Knox, with his one foot in the grave."[2]

The machinations against Mary were exposed by bishop Leslie, her faithful friend, who protested to queen Elizabeth that the delivery of his royal mistress into Moray's hands would be tantamount to signing her death-warrant.[3] The proceedings were suddenly arrested by the assassination of the regent as he was passing through Linlithgow, 23rd of January 1570. He was apprised of his danger; and it had been intended to avoid the narrow main street by a more circuitous route, but the street once entered, the regent rode slowly on account of the crowd,

[1] *State Papers Scot.* vol. xvi. No. 88, vol. xvii. No. 2.

[2] *State Papers Scot. Eliz.* vol. xvii. No. 3.

[3] Leslie was, a year afterwards, prisoner in the Tower of London.—Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 427.

so that the assassin, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, had time enough to make sure of his aim. The wound proved mortal, and Moray died within a few hours in Linlithgow palace. Hamilton, who fled to the Low Countries after his atrocious deed, had been exasperated into revenge by sentence of outlawry and forfeiture, but his act was none the less the outcome of a wide conspiracy against the regent's life.

Moray was born in 1530, and was thus in his fortieth year when he met his untimely death. He had been a conspicuous figure in public life for twenty years, from his first appearance as the youthful lay-prior of St. Andrews, when he took part in the last Councils of the mediæval Church, onwards to the day that the assassin's bullet ended his regency. His personal piety, his consistent advocacy of the Reformation, and his respectable abilities have not been questioned except by the bitterest partisans. Sir James Melvil in his *Memoirs* more than once speaks of him as the good regent, while regretting that he was so "facile" to the advice of flatterers and place hunters. On the other hand, his pocketing through all his life the large emoluments of an ecclesiastical office in the Roman Church, which he heartily repudiated; his being a pensioner of the English Government ceaselessly plotting against his own country, his betrayal of Norfolk and desertion of his friends, and his unnatural conduct to his sister and sovereign, especially in connection with the production of the Casket Letters, must be weighed and reckoned in any candid review of his character.[1] The body of the earl was buried amidst many indications of national sorrow in St. Anthony's aisle within St. Giles' church, Knox preaching a eulogistic sermon on the "Good Regent."[2]

The usual strife of factions between the king's party

[1] Skelton's *Mary Stuart* pp. 48, 74, 75.

[2] Tytler, vi. 117.

and the queen's followed the death of Moray. Mary's friends were now in the ascendant, and probably would have triumphed, but for the invasion of the country by two English armies simultaneously under lords Sussex and Scrope. To the distraction of civil war were thus added the miseries of foreign invasion. The election of the earl of Lennox to the regency by the king's party in July 1570—an elevation which he owed entirely to his relationship to the young king—did not abate the disorders of the time. Lennox had not the vigour and capacity of Moray, and his election was at once challenged by the queen's adherents. Meanwhile the English government, true to its character as the marplot of Scotland, continued to play off the one faction against the other, and to embroil the country in deeper dissension.

Kirkaldy of Grange was now governor of Edinburgh castle, which he held for the queen.[1] For this Knox reviled him as a cut-throat and murderer; and the soldier retaliated by stigmatising the preacher as a shedder of innocent blood, backing his words by occasional salvoes of artillery from the castle. The capital began to fill with the queen's supporters, and Knox, who was in feeble health from an attack of apoplexy in the previous October, found that the city was getting too hot for him. On the advice of his friends he withdrew to St. Andrews, a city which to him had mixed associations. Before quitting Edinburgh, Knox, with Craig his colleague, and Winram superintendent of Fife, had a conference within the castle with Kirkaldy and Maitland—strange as it may seem from the strained relations of the men. The discussion touched deep problems of Church and State, in which their agreement was impossible, but the tension between them was so far relaxed that they joined at one

[1] Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 125.

point in a merry laugh. It was the last time that Knox and his former allies looked each other in the face.[1]

The picture of the aged Reformer in his retreat by the cold north sea is one of the most pleasing in all his stormy life. It is drawn by the friendly pen of young James Melville, then a student of St. Leonard's college. "Of all the benefits," he writes,[2] "that I had that year (1571), was the coming of that most notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr. John Knox, to St. Andrews, who, by the faction of the queen occupying the castle and town of Edinburgh, was compelled to remove therefrom, with a number of the best, and chose to come to St. Andrews. I heard him teach there the prophecies of Daniel that summer and the winter following. I had my pen and my little book, and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderate, the space of half an hour; but when he entered on application he made me so to grew (shudder) and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. . . . He was very weak. I saw him, every day of his doctrine, go hulie and fear (slowly and warily) with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in the one hand and good godly Richard Ballanden, his servant, holding up the other oxter (armpit) from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, by the said Richard and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit where he behoved to lean at his first entry; but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads (splinters) and fly out of it."

There is a less favourable sketch of Knox in St. Andrews from the pen of his own secretary, Bannatyne,

[1] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, octavo ed. pp. 156-168; Burton, *Hist.* v. 55-62.

[2] From Melville's MS. Diary, pp. 22, 28, in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, ii. 205, 206.

who records that Knox by his sermons "generated unto him a deadly hatred and envy of all the aforesaids in St. Andrews, and especially the principals of the new College and the old, a few excepted;" and that when he left St. Andrews it was "not without dolour and displeasure of the few godly that were in that town but to the great joy and pleasure of the rest."[1]

The now familiar bishop of Orkney, Adam Bothwell, was again brought up before the Assembly on various charges — neglecting his diocese, assuming the title Father in God ("which belongs not," as he was reminded, "to a minister of Christ"), discharging the duties of a lord of Session, simoniacally exchanging his bishopric for the abbacy of Holyrood, and allowing the church fabrics to fall into decay. The bishop pleaded that the climate of Orkney was to him unendurable, that he was still diligent in preaching, that the churches had been pulled down at the Reformation and were exactly as that storm had left them, and that his exchange of his bishopric for the abbacy was due to the violence of its lay abbot, lord Robert Stewart. The bishop's career had not hitherto been blameless, though he is not an unfair specimen of the Scots Roman prelate turned Protestant.[2]

The castle of Dunbarton, which lord Fleming held for the queen, was captured on 2nd April 1571, by Captain Craufurd of Jordan Hill, an officer and kinsman of the regent Lennox. The Governor made good his escape, but among the prisoners who fell into the regent's hands was the archbishop (Hamilton) of St. Andrews, who was found clad in mail shirt and steel cap. There was a standing feud between the houses of Lennox and Hamilton, and the Lennox grudge was gratified by the primate's

[1] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, pp. 364, 373, 374; *Book of Universal Kirk*, p. 247.

[2] Burton, v. 459.

execution. He was taken to Stirling, accused of being privy to the murders of Darnley and Moray, of which he solemnly asserted his innocence; and within three days from his capture, without even the semblance of a judicial trial, which he demanded, he was hung in his episcopal robes on the common gibbet of the town. One deed of blood begets another, and the regent paid the price for this revenge not many months afterwards in the same town of Stirling.[1]

Apart from the question of his complicity in the murders, the private life of archbishop Hamilton had been very discreditable. Possessed of average abilities, thrust into high offices by family influence, unweariedly devoted to the papacy which he served faithfully after a fashion, his incontinence had long been a public scandal, a disgrace to any form of the Christian religion, and one of many similar cases that undermined the papacy in Scotland.

John Hamilton was the last Roman archbishop of St. Andrews. The Roman Catholic members of the chapter elected a priest named Robert Hay as his successor; but though he professed to act in that capacity, he was never consecrated, and the Roman see made no attempt to resuscitate the papal hierarchy in Scotland for three hundred years—not until the 4th March 1878. The earl of Morton had, before Hamilton's death, received from the regent the patronage of the primacy, and being bent on the restoration of the episcopal order he presented John Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrews, to the archbishopric.

The ecclesiastical condition of Scotland at this time

[1] For archbishop Hamilton, see *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 204, 205; Spottiswoode, *Hist.* ii. 155, 156; Calderwood, iii. 54, 59; Tytler, vi. 153, 154. See also Tytler, vii. 140, for MS. letter from Throckmorton to Leicester on archbishop Hamilton's cruel proposal to put queen Mary to death.

was very anomalous. The bishops and abbots of the Roman faith, though driven from the altar, still retained their seats in Parliament and continued to be the first of the Three Estates of the realm—the peers spiritual; and not only so, but when the bishops changed their creed, like Bothwell of Orkney and Gordon of Galloway, and became protestant bishops, or when laymen usurped a bishopric or an abbacy, the ecclesiastical title, no matter who held it or how it was obtained, empowered the possessor to sit in Parliament and to draw the revenues of his benefice,—to enjoy, in short, every temporal privilege without necessarily performing any spiritual duty. The balance of the constitution, so it was argued, required the preservation of the Three Estates, and therefore the Church must be represented in the national senate by prelates, real or titular. The regent Moray, for example, enjoyed all the privileges, political and pecuniary, of the rich priory of St. Andrews for more than thirty years; and so accustomed had men become to the misappropriation, that after Moray's death queen Mary bestowed the priory upon Kirkaldy of Grange, though it was probably little more to him than an empty title. This provoked from Randolph, at one time English ambassador, and an old college friend of Kirkaldy, the facetious letter in which he says, "Brother William, it was indeed most wonderful unto me when I heard that you should become a prior. That vocation agreeth not with anything that ever I knew in you, saving for your religious life under the cardinal's hat, when we were both students in Paris."[1]

A similar difficulty arose as to the titles of ecclesiastical lands and heritages. The bishops, abbots, and other

[1] Letter from State Paper Office, dated 1st May 1570, cited by Tytler, vi. 139.

beneficed clergy, in whom the properties were vested *ex officiis*, were gradually dying out; and the question had to be settled, Who was to give titles to the tenants and feuars of the old Church lands? The Parliament of August 1571 cut the knot by enacting that they should be held henceforth direct from the Crown. The statute made a quiet revolution in the possessorship of large tracts of land; but many of the nobility and gentry were sufficiently sharp-witted to anticipate the legislation of the Crown by private appropriation. There was a selfish scramble all round for every ecclesiastical acre not already disposed of. The protestant ministers who had been loud in denouncing the territorial magnates of the papal Church were now equally clamorous for their share in the Church lands. The scoffs of the lordly appropriators was all that they got for their pains. "The lords, Morton in special, who ruled all, said he should lay their pride and put order to them, with many other injurious words."[1] The reforming earl of Glencairn, already laden with ecclesiastical plunder, sought the archbishopric of Glasgow, and, because it was denied him, refused to sit in Parliament;[2] and the earl of Argyll, who had the lion's share of three bishoprics,—Brechin, Argyll, and the Isles,[3] —besides monastic spoils not accurately known, was credited at this period with deserting the queen's party for the king's, induced by a bribe of Church lands. "The greedy and insatiable appetite of benefices was the most cause thereof, for in his time there was none brought under the king's obedience but for reward either given or promised."[4]

The regent Lennox was killed at Stirling, 4th

[1] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 254.
[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 1570.
[3] He added a fourth, Dunkeld, a little later.
[4] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 1571.

September 1571, in a fray instigated by the earl of Huntly and lord Claud Hamilton. It was the Hamilton revenge for the archbishop's murder. Next day the earl of Mar was made regent. The choice lay between him and Morton or Argyll. Morton was by far the ablest of the three, and had been the life and soul of the Government for some years; but he was avaricious in spirit, immoral in life, and not very scrupulous about ways and means. Mar was an amiable man, and his character for honesty stood higher than that of any other noble in those profligate times.[1]

John Douglas, rector of St. Andrews University, had been made titular archbishop of that see by the influence of Morton; and other vacant bishoprics had been filled in like manner without consulting the Assembly. This action was like to provoke a conflict been Church and State; and Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus, to avoid a rupture, wrote to the regent, 10th November 1571, a pacific letter, which is remarkable for the opinions expressed by the veteran Reformer. "As to the provision of benefices," Erskine says, "this is my judgment: all benefices of tithes, or having tithes joined or annexed thereto, which are taken out of the people's labours, have the offices joined to them, which office is the preaching of the Evangel and ministration of the sacraments; and this office is spiritual, and therefore belongs to the kirk, which only has the distribution and ministration of spiritual things. So by the kirk spiritual offices are distributed, and men received and admitted thereto, and the administration of the power is committed by the kirk to bishops or superintendents; wherefore to the bishops and superintendents pertains the examination and admission of men unto benefices and offices of spiritual cure, what

[1] Tytler, vi. 163.

soever benefice it be, as well bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, as other inferior benefices. That this pertains by the Scriptures of God to the bishop or superintendent is manifest. . . . We have expressed plainly by Scripture, that to the office of a bishop pertain examination and admission into spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightly, and exercise their office faithfully and purely. To take this power from the bishop or superintendent is to take away the office of a bishop, that no bishop be in the kirk."

Erskine wrote another letter on the 14th November to the regent who had intimated a meeting of superintendents and other ministers to be held at Leith, with a view to settle the Church's polity. The regent in his reply to Erskine writes, "Truly our meaning was, and still is, to procure the reforming of things disordered in all sorts, as far as may be, retaining the privilege of the king, crown, and patronage. The default of the whole stands in this, that the policy of the kirk of Scotland is not perfect, nor any solid conference among godly men that are well-willed and of judgment how the same may be helped; and for corruption, which daily increases, whensoever the circumstances of things shall be well considered by the good ministers that are neither busy nor over desirous of promotions to them and theirs, it will be found that some have been authors and procurers of things that no good policy in the kirk can allow; wheranent we thought to have conferred specially with yourself, and to have yielded to you in things reasonable, and craved satisfaction of other things alike reasonable at your hands and by your procurement."[1]

[1] Letters of Erskine and Mar given in Bannatyne's *Transactions*, pp. 279-293; and in Calderwood's *Hist.* iii. 156-165. Erskine was a kinsman of the regent Mar, whose family name was Erskine.

To procure a settlement of the polity of the Church and of its relations with the State, several conferences were held at Leith, in December 1571, between the regent and Council on the one hand, and the superintendents and ministers on the other. A more formal meeting was convened at the same place on 12th January 1572, of superintendents, commissioners, and ministers. It was known as the CONVENTION OF LEITH, and, though not a regular Assembly, it was to have "the strength, force, and effect of a General Assembly."

The religious condition of the country at this time is described in a remarkable sermon preached at the Convention before the regent and nobility by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. "This day," said the preacher, "Christ is spoiled amongst us, while that which ought to maintain the ministry of the Church and the poor is given to profane men, flatterers in court, ruffians, and hirelings; the poor in the meantime oppressed with hunger, the churches and temples decaying for the lack of ministers and upholding, and the schools utterly neglected. But now to speak of your temples where the word of God should be preached and the sacraments administered, all men see to what miserable ruin and decay they are come; yea, they are so profaned, that in my conscience if I had been brought up in Germany, or in any other country where Christ is truly preached, and all things done decently and in order, according to God's word, and had heard of that purity of religion which is among you, and for the love thereof had taken travel to visit this land, and then should have seen the foul deformity and desolation of your churches and temples, which are more like sheep-cots than the house of God, I could not have judged that there had been any fear of God or right religion in the most part of this

realm. And as for the ministers of the word, they are utterly neglected and come in manifest contempt among you. Ye rail upon them at your pleasure. Of their doctrine, if it serve not your turn, and agree not with your appetites, ye are become impatient. And, to be short, we are now made your table talk, whom ye mock in your mirth, and threaten in your anger. This is what moves me (let men judge as they list) to lay before your eyes the miserable state of the poor Church of Scotland, that thereby ye may be provoked to pity it, and to restore the things that unjustly you spoiled it of."[1]

The Convention appointed a commission of its members to meet with a committee of the Privy Council, and draw up conjointly a working concordat on the ecclesiastical polity of the Church and the sustentation of its ministers. Representing the Church there was Erskine, superintendent of Angus; Winram, superintendent of Fife; William Lundie, of that ilk; Mr. John Craig, Knox's colleague in St. Giles'; and three other commissioners. The Council appointed the earl of Morton chancellor, lord Ruthven treasurer, the bishop of Orkney, and four other members,—both committees being fairly representative of the different parties in Church and State. On the 1st February they framed a series of articles, of which the following is the substance: (1) That the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the boundaries of dioceses, should remain as before the Reformation, at the least till the king on attaining his majority, or the Parliament, should otherwise determine; that a chapter of learned

[1] Tracts by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline (Bannatyne Club) p. 72 *et seq.* John Knox subscribed his name in approval of this sermon, signing the document after the new archbishop of St. Andrews, Erskine and Winram, superintendents, and Chrysteson, minister of Dundee,—Knox adding "with my dead hand but glaid heart praising God that of His mercy He levis such light to His Kirk in this desolation."

ministers should be attached to each cathedral; that the archbishops and bishops should have no more authority than superintendents, and that they should be subject to the Assembly. (2) That abbots, priors, and commendators should be learned and suitable for their office, and tried and admitted by the bishops; that provisions should first be made out of their benefices for the support of the ministers, and that commendators should be qualified to act as senators in the College of Justice. (3) That the king, the universities, and the lay patrons should possess their several rights of patronage; that only qualified persons, of at least twenty-three years of age, be appointed ministers; that readers be admitted by the bishops or superintendents to solemnise marriage, and to baptize and to hold benefices up to the yearly value of forty pounds; and that all ministers reside within their parish, sign the Confession of Faith, and take the oath of allegiance to the king before admission. (4) That all deaneries, provostries of collegiate churches, prebends, and chaplaincies, founded on temporal lands, be bestowed by their patrons on students in grammar, arts, theology, law, or medicine.

The articles also give directions as to the manner of electing a bishop,—by letter under the great seal to the dean and chapter,—and prescribe the form of oath which the bishop is to take on his election, acknowledging the king as "the only lawful and supreme governor of this realm, as well in things temporal as in the conservation and purgation of religion." Whereupon the bishop was to receive letters under the privy seal restoring to him the temporalities of his see.[1]

The regent approved of the Concordat, and it was to

[1] Calderwood, iii. 172-179; Spottiswoode, ii. 171, 172; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 130.

be submitted to Parliament for confirmation. The General Assembly which met in Perth in August of this year also gave its consent, but with evident reluctance, and only accepting it as a temporary measure "until further and more perfect order be obtained at the hands of his majesty's regent and nobility, for the which they will press as occasion shall serve." In future sederunts of the Assemblies the bishops take precedence of superintendents; and in the Assembly of August 1574 the members petition the regent to fill up vacant bishoprics with qualified persons.[1]

Looking back upon the First Book of Discipline with its severe strictures upon prelacy in all its forms, the Concordat of Leith marks an unexpected revolution of the ecclesiastical wheel. The restored Episcopate was in outward respects similar to the hierarchy of the reformed Anglican Church, and to the hierarchy abolished by the Scots Parliament twelve years before, barring the supremacy of the pope. The sanction of the Crown, the election by the chapter, the act of consecration were all duly prescribed. It is when we examine the episcopal character of the consecrators that the flaw appears. No man can convey to others gifts of any kind, sacred or secular, which he has not himself received. The men who, during this transition, professed to ordain others to the episcopal office had not themselves been validly ordained to any ministerial office. The principle of the historic Episcopate is, and has always been, that only a bishop, himself validly ordained, can ordain to any office in the ministry. Tested by this qualification the men appointed to the office of bishop under the Leith Concordat, however worthy of the honour, were mere titular bishops devoid of any episcopal character. At the

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, 1574, 1575.

same time, this titular Episcopate affords one more proof that the Church of that age, if it was not properly episcopal in polity, was at least nominally episcopal, and by no means presbyterial in parity.

The first ordination of a bishop under the new order was that of John Douglas to the primacy of St. Andrews. The bishop of Caithness, brother of the late regent Lennox, Spottiswoode, superintendent of Lothian, and David Lindsay, minister at Leith, laid their hands on the bishop-elect, and he became titular archbishop of St. Andrews. It is doubtful whether any of the three men had received even the order of the priesthood. The election of Douglas was opposed by many members of the chapter; and Patrick Adamson, said by Calderwood[1] to have been a disappointed claimant, preached against it in a sermon in which he said there were three sorts of bishops—"My lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop was in the time of Papestrie; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my lord's title sure; the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel."[2] Adamson lived to succeed Douglas in the archbishopric, and under the steadying influence of the mitre modified his language; but his witticism pointed to the prevalent belief that there had been a simoniacal paction between Douglas and his patron, the earl of Morton. John Knox, who was still in St. Andrews, took the same view of the pluralism of Douglas, who besides being rector of the University and provost of St. Mary's college, now became primate of the Scottish Church. He was far advanced in years, and Knox deprecated the laying of so much additional responsibility on a decrepit old

[1] *Hist.* iii. 206.

[2] *Diary*, p. 32, of James Melville, who is the only contemporary authority for Adamson's witticism.

man.[1] Knox refused to attend the archbishop's inauguration; but he preached in the hearing of Morton, and pronounced anathema both on the giver and the receiver of the office.[2]

While Knox condemned the election of Douglas to the primacy for the reasons given, he was not opposed to the restoration of the Episcopate as agreed upon in the Leith Convention.[3] Too infirm to attend the Assembly of August 1572, Knox sent a letter with a series of articles, in which he made the following suggestions: "That no gift of any bishopric or other benefice be given to any person contrary to the tenor of the acts made in the time of the first regent of good memory . . . and that all bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto, within one year of the vacancy thereof, according to the order taken in Leith by the commissioners of the nobility and of the kirk in the month of January last. And, in special, to complain upon the giving of the bishopric of Ross to the lord Methwene.[4] . . . That no pensions of benefices be given by simple donation of my lord regent without the consent of the possessors of the benefices and the admission of the superintendent . . . or of the bishops lawfully elected according to the said order taken in Leith. . . . That an act be made decerning and ordaining all bishops admitted by order of the kirk, now received, to give account of their whole rents and intromissions therewith, once in the year, as the kirk shall appoint."[5] These extracts, and

[1] "I heard Mr. Knox speak against him," says Melville (*Diary*, p. 31), "but sparingly, because he loved him; and with regret saying, 'Alas for pity to lay upon an auld weak man's back that whilk twenty of the best gifts could not bear! It will wrack him and disgrace him.'"

[2] Calderwood, iii. 206.

[3] See Cunningham's *Hist.* i. 429.

[4] Lord Methven was shortly afterwards killed in the High Street of Edinburgh by a shot from the castle.

[5] Bannatyne's *Transactions*, pp. 366, 367.

the general tenor of the document, indicate that Knox accepted the episcopal office as the Kirk had accepted it, while he attacked, and with good reason, the avaricious spirit of patrons like Morton, who in the course of ten years made the titular Episcopacy a reproach and a byword.[1]

In July 1572 there was a truce between the contending factions in Edinburgh, and Knox was invited to return to the capital, which he did by slow stages in the month of August. But he was no longer the man that he had been. Killigrew, the English envoy, who saw him daily, writes—"John Knox is now so feeble as scarce can he stand alone, or speak to be heard of any audience; yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place, where a certain number do hear him, and preacheth with the same vehemency and zeal that he ever did."[2] The smaller place fitted up for Knox was the Tolbooth Church, where he continued to preach down to Sunday, 9th November, when he inducted James Lawson as his colleague and successor. This was the last public appearance of John Knox.

The country had been shocked in the beginning of September by news from France of the horrible massacre, on St. Bartholomew's day, of over ten thousand Huguenots. While the pope was offering a solemn thanksgiving for the destruction of his heretical enemies, Scotsmen and Englishmen of all creeds were horror stricken. It was one of those bloody triumphs more disastrous to Rome than many defeats. Knox in his enfeebled health was deeply affected by the event, and all the more that some

[1] Burton, *Hist.* v. 79, remarks that at this period "the question of Prelacy was practically in Knox's hands"; and he recommends "those who hold that Knox was an enemy to an episcopal hierarchy to study the articles" referred to above.

[2] Letter to lord Burghley.—Tytler, vi. 179.

of his personal friends were among the victims. A convention of Protestants was summoned in the regent's name to meet in Edinburgh on the 20th October, and it was then proposed to hold a week's fast and to form a league with England and the Reformers on the Continent for mutual defence against the plots of the papists.[1]

Another plot, the second of its kind, was being busily hatched at this time against the life of the unfortunate queen Mary. It was represented to the regent Mar, and to lord Morton who swayed his counsels, that unless the English realm were delivered of Mary, the life of Elizabeth would be no longer safe.[2] The plan proposed was to hand Mary over to the regent and his party, "to proceed with her by way of justice;" and the business was to be despatched, as lord Burghley wrote, "speedily and secretly." Both Mar and Morton agreed to the proposal. Mary was to be secretly executed "within four hours"; "and the only cause of delay," as Tytler remarks, "on the part of the regent and his brother earl, was the selfish wish of making the most profit of this cruel bargain." It was a cold-blooded scheme which reflects even more shame on the two Scotsmen chiefly implicated—there were others in the plot, including "two ministers"—than on Elizabeth and her advisers. Within ten days after the interview with the English ambassador on this business the regent Mar died suddenly at Stirling on the 28th October 1572. So the plot miscarried and Mary, unconsciously to herself, was respited for many weary years and the sad ending at Fotheringay.[3] Morton at this time added to the dishonour of his name by selling into the

[1] Confederation of Protestants, see Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 145 *seq.*; Bannatyne, pp. 397-411; M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, ii. 215-217; Tytler, vi. 171-188; Burton, iv. 344.

[2] "Vita Mariæ, mors Elizabeth; vita Elizabeth, mors Mariæ."

[3] See Tytler, vi. 174-189.

hands of Elizabeth his prisoner, the earl of Northumberland, who had befriended him when he was an exile in England. The earl was shortly afterwards executed at York.[1]

After the installation of his successor the health of Knox rapidly declined. It is given as an instance of his gay good-humour that, on the following Saturday, which was the last day he was able to sit at table, he caused a hogshead of wine to be pierced for a visitor, and told him to send for it as long as it lasted, as he could not tarry for it. He had many visitors of all ranks in his closing days, some of whom read and talked with him on topics of Christian consolation. Lawson read the prayer for the sick appointed in the Liturgy that went by Knox's name. On Sunday the 23rd, which was the first day of the fast for the Huguenot massacre, Knox told his friends that he had been meditating for two nights on the troubled state of the Church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, and pleading with God on her behalf. He then repeated the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, making devotional reflections on the several petitions, and saying as he uttered "Our Father which art in heaven," "Who can pronounce so holy words?" Next evening, when the family prayers were said, he was asked if he had heard them, to which he answered, "I would to God that you and all men heard them as I have heard them, and I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven o'clock, Bannatyne, his attendant, on observing him heave a deep sigh, asked him to give a sign that he heard; upon which he lifted up his hand, and in the same moment breathed his last.[2]

Knox died on the 24th November 1572, in his sixty-seventh year, thirteen years after his last return to

[1] Tytler calls Morton "this base and avaricious man," and he seems to have merited the description.—*Hist.* vi. 189.

[2] Bannatyne acted in the double capacity of servant and secretary to Knox, and wrote the *Journal of Transactions in Scotland.*

Scotland. He was buried on the 26th in the churchyard of St. Giles', where Morton is said to have pronounced the eulogy that "he neither feared nor flattered any flesh."[1]

So much polemical discussion has arisen between extreme partisans and equally extreme opponents over John Knox, that much of the real man has been hidden by the dust of controversy. From his own *History of the Reformation*, a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the times, bearing in a remarkable degree the stamp of the writer's individuality, and from other contemporary documents, we have the materials for forming some fair idea of the Reformer's character. First, his powers of declamation were exceptional, and unrivalled by any preacher of his day. There are several testimonies to the rousing effect which his sermons, often political addresses in the guise of religious discourses, had on the masses of the people; and not on the masses only, but also on men like the English ambassador, who declared that a sermon from Knox put them all on their mettle, and was worth a battalion of soldiers. His rare skill also in dialectics and in controversy has to be acknowledged. Discounting somewhat from the controversial victories reported by himself, it is true, nevertheless, that he was a match for the ablest of his antagonists, and could always give a reason for the faith that was in him, and a still better reason perhaps against the faith of his opponents. His personal influence with his contemporaries, with lordly barons and simple burghers, was also remarkable, and not less so the courage with which he almost invariably dared the opposition of the strongest. His influence upon the Reformation in Scotland has been,

[1] James Melville in his *Diary*, p. 60, is the only contemporary authority for Morton's speech, which has been frequently varied and enlarged by later historians.

no doubt, much over-rated, for the Reformation was virtually accomplished before Knox returned from Geneva; but all his influence afterwards, greater than that of any other single man in Scotland, was thrown into the scale, and largely contributed to the success of Protestantism. Again, it redounds to his credit that in a venal age, and associated as he was with many whose avarice and greed of Church property whetted their reforming zeal, Knox was throughout absolutely disinterested.[1]

This is much to be said of any public man of Knox's school and in Knox's day. But the same sources of information prove, beyond contradiction, that he was in principle as intolerant as the papists, and in his own belief as infallible as any pope; and that but for the restraining hand of the barons he would have been as relentless a persecutor as any Romanist in the land. "Death to the idolaters" was a common cry of himself and his party, not spoken hastily in the heat of debate, but uttered in cold blood. His religion was grounded, not so much on the "Evangel," which was often on the reformers' lips, as on the Judaism of the Old Testament. Knox was thoroughly at home in that literature, and drew from it his choicest weapons against what he called Roman idolatry. Again, it was a feature of Knox's character that he seldom could be generous to an opponent, and never could brook opposition. His warmest friends, when they differed from him and opposed him in religion or politics, as, for instance, Maitland and Kirkaldy, were held up by him to public odium. His conduct to queen Mary has been already commented on, and it was less excusable than his ordinary treatment of opponents because she was his sovereign, — a young and inexperienced woman, too—bearing a great responsibility and exposed

[1] See Knox's *Works*, Laing's ed. vi. 617.

to special temptations, which might well have won her the sympathy of her Scottish subjects, even though they were protestant ministers. Knox's religion, it has been said, was a misapplied form of Judaism; and making every allowance for the provocation to retaliate on men who showed little or no mercy to Protestants, still, when all has been said that can be said, the evidence shows that Knox in his public career was more imbued with the spirit of the Old Testament than of the New.[1]

Edinburgh castle fell after a protracted siege on the 29th May 1573. Morton, who succeeded Mar in the regency, had secured the aid of a regiment of English artillery, and with their siege guns a breach was soon made in the walls. This, and the threatened mutiny of the soldiers, compelled the surrender of the castle. Maitland of Lethington had taken refuge in it, paralysed in body, but still keen and active in intellect. He anticipated the fate in store for him by being, it is said, his own executioner; or, as Sir James Melvil puts it, "he took a drink and died as the old Romans were wont to do."[2] Knox had called him an atheist, and Maitland rebutted the charge with indignation, adding a confession of his faith which might have satisfied the rigour of a Calvinist. "I have been brought up from my youth and instructed in the fear of God, and to know that He has appointed heaven for the habitation of His elect, and also hell for the everlasting dwelling-place of the reprobate."[3] Kirkaldy,

[1] Dr. Cunningham remarks that "their religion in some of its aspects was more Jewish than Christian" (*Hist. Ch. Scot.* i. 490). In confirmation of this estimate of Knox's character and influence compare the estimate of four of our leading Protestant historians, laymen of different schools of politics, and all of them advocates of the freedom of religious opinion. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* v. 27. 52; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* vi. 194: Burton, *Hist. Scot.* v. 85; Buckle. *Hist. Civ.* iii. 75. Skelton in his *Mary Stuart*, p. 52, describes Knox as being "as ruthless as a prophet of Israel, as narrow as a Spanish inquisitor."

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 256.

[3] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 415.

the Governor, met his fate fearlessly like the brave soldier that he was. Sir James Melvil, who knew him well, describes him as "humble, gentle, and meek—like a lamb in the house, but like a lion in the field." Elizabeth begged that his life should be spared, and many in Scotland wished it might be so;[1] but Morton was inexorable now that he had the strong man in his power. And so the great captain suffered the ignominy of being hanged at the market cross of Edinburgh on the 3rd August.[2]

In the short space of thirteen years—1560-1573—many of the prominent actors in the Reformation struggle had passed, one after another, from the scene. The affairs of Church and State now fell into other hands, and ecclesiastical politics assumed various shapes before the year 1592, when Presbytery triumphed—for a time.

[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 449.

[2] For a full account of both Maitland and Kirkaldy see Skelton's *Maitland of Lethington*.

## CHAPTER VI

### JAMES VI.—GOVERNMENTS OF REGENT MORTON AND OF KING JAMES, 1573-1582

Morton's rule—Persecution of Romanists—Titular bishops under the Assembly—Return of Andrew Melville—Knox and Melville compared—Morton's ecclesiastical policy—His device for paying stipends—Assembly deals with Church festivals—Melville's first attack on titular Episcopate—Assembly limits bishops to particular charges—Patrick Adamson titular archbishop—Assembly deals with Adamson and with heretics, and ministers keeping ale-houses—Lord Glamis's six questions to Beza—Beza's answers—Morals of the people in 1578—Letters from the pope to king James and to the Scots—Melville as Moderator—His influence over the Kirk—"Sang scuils"—Bassandyne Bible—Two new Court favourites, Lennox and Arran—Execution of Morton—Fresh arrival of Jesuits—Melville renews attack on titular bishops—Assembly of Dundee 1580 condemns Episcopacy—Jesuit scare and the signing of the king's Confession—Formation of the first presbyteries—Review of ecclesiastical position—Second Book of Discipline—Montgomery, tulchan archbishop of Glasgow—Difference between titular and tulchan bishops—Death of George Buchanan.

THE early associates of Morton had all passed away before he attained the regency. In political capacity he was equal to the office, and deserved the compliment "a shrewd fellow" paid him by Killigrew, the English ambassador. Rulers in that age were very seldom models in morals, but Morton was immoral beyond all his compeers.[1] In insatiable avarice he outstripped all the reforming lords, deeply implicated as they were in

[1] Skelton's *Queen Mary*, p. 49.

sacrilege. He was, nevertheless, a capable regent, and by his vigilant punishment of crime he soon restored to the realm a degree of order and prosperity which surprised the English ambassador who had known Scotland in previous regencies.[1]

Morton was at first forbearing in his treatment of Roman Catholics, but the General Assemblies goaded him into persecution. The Assembly of 1572 enacted that all papists should be compelled to declare their creed; and next year it charged the superintendents "to proceed summarily to excommunicate all papists," unless within eight days they "joined themselves to the religion presently established in the realm."[2] The Privy Council in February 1574 took similar action, and forbade, under pain of death, any dealings with certain Roman ecclesiastics whose names they entered in a schedule. Some priests were banished, one or two imprisoned, and one, named Thomas Robinson, formerly master of the school at Paisley, suffered death for saying mass.[3]

The titular bishops were also taken in hand by the Assembly. The Concordat of Leith made them subject to its jurisdiction; and year by year their episcopal conduct was reviewed, often censured, and sometimes corrected by "godly discipline." In the spring Assembly of 1573 the aged titular (Douglas) of St. Andrews was charged with neglect of visitation, and pleaded bad health; in the autumn Assembly the eccentric bishop (Gordon) of Galloway was accused of ministerial intrusion into Edinburgh, and of acknowledging the queen's authority—a

[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 6, 13.

[2] *Acts of Gen. Assemblies*, part i. pp. 253, 262.

[3] In the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 341, there is an entry of a priest, not named, being hung in Glasgow, 4th May 1574; but this is supposed to be the same person as the Robinson mentioned by Buchanan in the previous year.

more serious offence, for which he was ordered to do public penance in three Edinburgh churches, and failing this, to be excommunicated. The new titular bishop of Dunkeld (Paton) was rebuked for not excommunicating the earl of Atholl, who was a Romanist, and for the graver offence of simoniacal collusion with the earl of Argyll touching the revenues of his see.[1]

The Assembly was within its constitutional rights in calling the bishops to account; and its dealings with Paton for simony were commendable. All the same, the position of the titular Episcopate was so anomalous that no wit of man could have worked the system without an amount of friction fatal to the peace of the Church. Ecclesiastical war was still to be waged as before, but on different lines. From 1560 to 1572 the struggle was between Romanism and Protestantism. Rome had now been virtually crushed, and only the fitful efforts of the Jesuits recalled the memory of the old supremacy. The struggle for the next hundred years was between Episcopacy and Presbytery, both of them at first undeveloped, but each a formidable rival to the other, and capable of disturbing between them the peace of the country for generations to come. At one time the influence of some leading man—king, regent, or minister—made the Church gravitate towards Episcopacy; at another, the counter influence of other leaders made the pendulum swing towards Presbytery. Morton, the regent, and Douglas, the titular primate, were among the influences that now favoured Episcopacy. Andrew Melville, a stronger man than either, in twenty years overthrew titular and tulchan bishops, and founded for the first time in Scotland a Church based upon Presbyterian parity after the republican model of Geneva.

[1] Calderwood, *Hist.* iii. 347-349.

In the summer of 1574 Melville returned to Scotland after an absence of ten years spent at universities on the Continent. He was the youngest son of a gentleman who fell in the rout of Pinkie, and was only two years old at his father's death. He was born in 1545 at the family seat of Baldovie, near Montrose, and there received his earlier education. In St. Andrews University he came under the influence of its rector, Douglas. Afterwards he was a student in Paris, and then regent in Poictiers University, and professor of Humanity in Geneva. He returned to Scotland with the reputation of being one of the most learned men of his day. Though by birth of higher social rank than Knox, Melville was more of a leveller in principle, and a thoroughgoing advocate of the visionary republicanism of George Buchanan in both Church and State.[1] It was king James's experience of the democratic temper of Melville which made him say with significant emphasis after he went to England, "No bishop, no king." Melville's literary fame had preceded him to Scotland, and he had no sooner returned than he became principal of Glasgow University, which was then at a low ebb. He soon put new life into the western college, and several of his students became distinguished for their learning and attainments. From Glasgow Melville was removed to the principalship of St. Mary's college, St. Andrews. It was not, however, as an educationist but as the founder of Presbytery pure and simple, that Melville, after years of stubborn conflict in and out of the Assembly, made and left his mark deeper than any other man's on the religion of Scotland.

The regent had sent certain articles to the Assembly

[1] Burton, *Hist.* v. 150, says of Melville, "He was the type of a class who, to as much of the fierce fanaticism of the Huguenots as the Scots character could receive, added the stern classical republicanism of Buchanan."

—he was careful, though invited, never himself to attend —in which he promised to redress the standing grievance of the ministers' poverty, and to fill up the vacant bishoprics, among others Glasgow, Dunblane, and Ross, still nominally held by the Roman prelates, Beaton, Chisholm, and Leslie. He proposed also a suffragan for St. Andrews, with charge of the Lothians, therein anticipating the legislation of Charles I. Meanwhile the superintendents were to take the oversight of the vacant sees.

Titular bishops were appointed, but the ministers' stipends were as badly paid as before. Many of the lords and lairds who had secured the Church lands were loath to part with the share of the thirds allocated as stipends, and it was always easy to put off the mendicant minister "wondering for his bread." Complaints increased, and the regent began to be highly unpopular with the protestant party. To recover his waning influence he made a bold move, and only his besetting avarice prevented its success; he undertook, in the name of the Crown, to collect the thirds from the landholders, and become the ministers' immediate paymaster. It was a plausible scheme, and if honestly carried out, might have paved the way to a permanent settlement. The regent's method, however, was not honest, and only aggravated the evil. He began by joining several parishes together, nominating readers as assistants, so as to save the difference between the stipends of minister and reader. He also cut down the allowance for superintendents,[1] and all the savings found their way into his own coffers. What he did with the money no one could tell; it could only be surmised that it was hoarded in his castle at Dalkeith.[2]

[1] Spottiswoode, *Hist.* ii. 195, 196.

[2] His hoard was estimated at this time at five or six hundred thousand crowns, and it was rumoured that he wished to deport it for safety to Germany.—Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 66.

Yet he was always impecunious, often importuning queen Elizabeth for money to carry on his Government, fining merchants and tradesmen on various pretexts, and even mulcting Protestants for transgressing the statute by eating flesh during Lent.[1] The stipends were no better paid, and the ministers were kept dangling at the court for redress. They resented this treatment, and the regent answered them in his own supercilious way, saying that "there would be no peace in the land until some of the ministers were hanged." Melville utilised the ministers' grievance to gain their support in the battle he was about to fight for ends less mercenary than stipends. When Morton threatened Melville, Greek met Greek, and he answered the regent defiantly —"Tush! threaten your courtiers in that way; it is all the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. It is out of your power to hang or exile the truth."[2]

The Assembly which met in Edinburgh, 7th March 1575, is notable for two of its Acts—the election of Boyd, the titular bishop of Glasgow, to the moderator's chair, and the attack upon the mediæval mystery plays. The autumn Assembly, in the same place, assailed another survival of the past—the observance of festivals and saints' days.[3] The boys of the Aberdeen Grammar School, "disordered bairns," would keep their Christmas holidays "at the superstitious time of Yule"; and in this they were only taking a leaf out of the book of ministers and readers who kept the Christian festivals both in town and country.[4] Some dwellers in Dumfries, a little later, were also festally disposed, and what they could not have

[1] Tytler, vi. 219.

[2] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 52, 53. The writer of this Diary was the nephew of Andrew Melville.

[3] Calderwood, *Hist.* iii. 350.

[4] The regent Morton held a Privy Council at Aberdeen in August 1574, to which he summoned the provost and bailies, and laid upon them strict injunctions to see that the festivals were abolished, "which were usit before in tyme of ignorance and Pap-

in their own town they secured by a procession to Lincluden collegiate church, where they celebrated Christmas in the time-honoured way.[1]

The Assembly in 1575 was also marked by the first of Melville's attacks upon the principle of Episcopacy. Durie, a minister in Edinburgh, Melville's leading supporter, raised the question whether the name and office of bishop, as then existing in Scotland, had any warrant in the Word of God; and whether chapters with their powers of election ought any longer to be tolerated. The matter was shelved for a time by appointing a committee of six ministers to debate it, three on each side, after the manner of the old academic wranglings. Against Episcopacy were John Craig, formerly Knox's colleague, now minister in Aberdeen, James Lawson his successor in Edinburgh, and principal Melville; on the other side George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister in Perth, and David Lindsay, minister in Leith. Their report, brief and slightly evasive, was to this effect—"They think it not expedient presently to answer directly to the first question; but if any bishop shall be found who hath not such qualities as the Word of God requireth, that he be tried by the General Assembly *de novo*, and so deposed." In a note they are more explicit, and give their account of the office of a bishop. "First, the name of bishop is common to all those who have a particular flock, over which they have a particular charge, as well to preach the word, as to administer the sacraments, and execute ecclesiastial discipline, with consent of their elders. And this is their chief function by the Word of God. Also, out of this number may be chosen

istrie," and that all monuments of idolatry, specially naming organs, be removed out of the kirk.—*Reg. Priv. Co.* ii. 390.

[1] Spottiswoode, *Hist.* ii. 337; M'Dowall, *Hist. Dumfries*, pp. 258, 259.

some to have power to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds beside their own flock as the general kirk shall appoint; and in these bounds to appoint ministers, with consent of the ministers of that province, and with consent of the flock to whom they shall be appointed; also, to appoint elders and deacons in every particular congregation where there is none, with consent of the people thereof; and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes with consent of the ministers of the bounds."[1]

This was the first victory gained by Melville, who was already recognised as the champion of Presbytery. In successive years he pushed his advantage step by step until he carried the Assembly with him to the conclusion that the office of diocesan bishop was unlawful, and without warrant from the Word of God.

Year by year the battle was renewed in the Assembly, and Acts were passed curtailing the prerogatives of the titular bishops, and censuring them on various grounds. The Assembly of 1576 limited each bishop to a particular charge, and set apart Dunblane cathedral for the bishop of that see, and Fortrose cathedral for the bishop of Ross.[2] Several of the bishops, and among them Boyd of Glasgow, declined to be limited in their choice of a flock, Boyd stating he was in the habit of preaching in Givvin (Govan). In the next Assembly, when cited on the same business, he referred the members to the Concordat of Leith, and reminded them that it was to continue in force during the minority of the king, or until abrogated by Parliament; and that if he opposed this arrangement, in submission to which he had accepted his bishopric, he would be guilty of perjury. He consented, however, as a compromise, to

[1] Calderwood, *Hist.* iii. 355, 356; Spottiswoode, ii. 200, 201; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 148-153.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 358-368; Spottiswoode, ii. 201, 202; *Book of Universal Kirk*, pp. 153-155.

preach in a particular church in the sheriffdom of Ayr while residing in that district, and to observe a similar rule in Glasgow, but "without prejudicing the power and jurisdiction he received with the said bishopric." With this the Assembly had, meanwhile, to be content, for, as Calderwood remarks, "the Assembly could not use their full authority, because the regent bearing rule for the time was earnestly set for the estate of bishops." The members of Assembly knew well that to fight with the titular bishop was to challenge Morton himself, who had made them feel that he was no titular regent.[1]

The Assembly had a second bout with another titular prelate, Patrick Adamson, elected by the regent to succeed Douglas in the see of St. Andrews. The real name of the archbishop-elect was Patrick Constance or Constantine, and so he is described in several Assembly and other records prior to this period.[2] Adamson's earlier history had been similar to that of his great rival, Melville, whom he preceded as a student at St. Andrews, Paris, Poictiers, and Geneva, enjoying at the last place the instruction and friendship of Beza. His reputation as a scholar stood second only to Melville's, while his character also entitled him to the promotion conferred by the regent. But the Assembly told him that he ought, according to their ordinance, to have been tried and examined by them prior to being admitted by the chapter, upon which Adamson made answer that the said ordinance had never received legal confirmation, and that he could not therefore submit to it, which ended the business for that time.[3]

[1] Calderwood, iii. 370, 371; Spottiswoode, ii. 202; *Book of Universal Kirk*, pp. 155-162.

[2] In a MS. note in a copy of Keith's *Catalogue*, possessed by the late Principal Lee of Edinburgh, Adamson is said to have been the son of Adam Constance, a Perth hatter. The "Adamson" would therefore probably be the father's Christian name with the suffix.

[3] Previous reference has been made to the sermon which Adamson preached at St. Andrews on the election of his predecessor Douglas to the see.

What would now be called a heresy case occupied this Assembly. Thomas Hepburn, a minister, was accused of teaching that no soul enters heaven, where Christ is glorified, until after the last judgment. Some members conferred with Hepburn privately, but he was not convinced by their arguments, and so the Assembly unanimously "damned and detested the said article, and judged the same to be heretical, false, and erroneous," and forbade Hepburn the exercise of the ministry.[1]

Among other questions raised at the same Assembly was that of the "Sabbath"; and "salt-pans, mills, and other labours which draw away innumerable people from hearing of the word" were unsparingly condemned. Still more singular, as showing the revolution in public opinion, is the following entry in the Assembly's records touching a post-Reformation practice—"A minister, or reader, tapping aile, beare, or wine, or keeping open taverne, is to be exhorted by the commissioners to keep decorum."[2] Roman ecclesiastics were forbidden by the provincial canons to enter taverns unless on a journey; but bad as clerical morals were then, no canon was ever deemed necessary to forbid priests from keeping taverns, or to enjoin them if they did so, to keep them with decorum. Whether the chronic poverty of the ministers, due to the insatiable greed of the reforming lords, was responsible for this practice, or whether it was attributable to unconventional ideas of the new ministers' social status, must be left to conjecture. The idea suggested of clerical occupation in the latter part of the sixteenth century if not pleasant is certainly picturesque.

Mackenzie's *Lives*, iii. 364-366; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, i. 122, 445-448; *Diary of James Melville*, pp. 31, 32; Bannatyne's *Transactions*, p. 323, where Adamson is called "Mr. Patrick Consting."

[1] Calderwood, iii. 373; Spottiswoode, ii. 202; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 155-162.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 377; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 160.

The Assembly which met in October 1577 (they had departed from the earlier custom of meeting at Christmas) asked the regent to attend in person or by a commissioner; but he excused himself, and sent for their consideration a series of questions on ecclesiastical government, intended, as has been supposed, to embarrass the Assembly while engaged in drafting its new scheme of Church polity, the Second Book of Discipline.

During the discussions on ecclesiastical polity the protestant chancellor, lord Glamis, famed for his great learning,[1] consulted Beza, who had now become the theological oracle of the reformed churches, on certain matters in dispute. He put six questions to Beza which have still an interest for ecclesiastics. Was the office of bishops necessary in the Church for the calling of ministers, or for their deposition? Or rather, should not all ministers be equal in grade, and appoint and remove men to or from the ministry with consent of the patron and people? Should the General Assemblies meet with or without the consent of the king? By whom should ecclesiastical Assemblies be convoked—by the king or by the bishops? On what subjects were they entitled to legislate? Should papists be visited with excommunication, or with a lighter punishment, and for what causes might excommunication be resorted to? Lastly, what were the lawful uses of Church property that had been previously dedicated to God?

Beza answered the questions, and wrote a treatise, in support of his answers, on the Triple Episcopate,[2] which he described as the Divine, the human, and the satanic—the Divine recognised in the Scriptures; the human represented by the early Fathers; and the satanic as it

[1] Tytler, v. 242.

[2] *De Triplici Episcopatu* was its title, and it was afterwards translated into English.

blossomed under the papacy.[1] The reply, as might have been expected from a thorough Republican, was an attack upon the threefold ministry, and a defence of ministerial parity, which proved a welcome support to Melville and his allies. Melville had frequent correspondence with Beza, as Knox had had with Calvin; and in one of his letters written to Beza in November 1579 reference is made to this subject. "We have now," Melville writes, "for five years maintained a warfare against pseudo-episcopacy, and have not ceased to urge the adoption of a strict discipline. We have presented to his Majesty and the Three Estates of the kingdom at different times, and recently at the Parliament which is now sitting, a form of discipline to be enacted and confirmed by public authority. The king is favourably inclined to us; almost all the nobility are adverse. They complain that if pseudo-episcopacy be abolished, the state of the kingdom will be overturned; if presbyteries be established, the royal authority will be diminished; if the ecclesiastical goods are restored to their legitimate use, the royal treasury will be exhausted. They plead that bishops, with abbots and priors, form the third estate in Parliament; that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, pertains solely to the king and his council, and that all the ecclesiastical property should go into the exchequer. In many this way of speaking and thinking may be imputed to ignorance; in more to a flagitious life and bad morals; in almost all to a desire of seizing such of the Church property as yet remains, and the dread of losing what they have already got into their possession."[2]

While learned men were exchanging learned letters

[1] See Keble's *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to works, i. 74-76.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 397; Spottiswoode, ii. 221; Melville's *Diary*, p. 55; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, i. 199-202.

with brethren on the Continent, and wrangling with each other at home, the moral condition of the country was not of a satisfactory or creditable character, as the Assembly of 1578 bears witness. It laments "the universall corruptions of the hail estates of the bodie of this realme, the great coldness and slackness of religione in the greatest pairt of the professors of the same, with the daily increase of all kinde of fearful sinnes and enormities."[1] Yet there was little that the Assembly did not attempt to regulate, or to suppress if it displeased them. Sermon hearing, school holidays, music, dancing, the apparel of ministers, and the raiment of ministers' wives, were all alike severely supervised.[2] And still, after twenty years' protestant rule, the morals of the Scottish people did not improve under their new masters. The sackcloth, almost the only vestment of the Roman sacristy saved from the reforming fires, was in frequent requisition for violations of the seventh commandment; and, as we have seen, the sixth and the eighth were more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

On the 12th March 1578 Morton was compelled to resign the regency. It is hard to say by which class in the community he was most disliked, for he had in turn offended all. He was ousted by a cabal headed by the earls of Argyll and Atholl; and the king, now twelve years old, nominally assumed the government, aided by a council of twelve, amongst whom the two earls were prominent.[3] In less than a year, however, Morton regained his old ascendency, and was again regent in fact, if not in name.

The Romanists were now unusually active both in England and Scotland. Among other objects they aimed

[1] *Book of Universal Kirk*, p. 176.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 335; Burton, *Hist.* v. 145.
[3] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 171, 183.

at securing the person of the young king, in order to have him educated abroad in a Roman Catholic court, and brought up in their faith. Bishop Leslie (of Ross) was indefatigable in visits, archbishop Beaton was untiring in correspondence, and even his holiness the pope (Gregory XIII.) had so far committed himself as to make an offer of money in advance to forward the scheme.[1] The pope had, in the previous year, congratulated James on his assuming the government, and expressed the hope that he would defend and maintain the Catholic religion, "which offered the best guarantee for the safety and endurance of kingdoms." Bishop Leslie was the bearer of another letter from the pope of the same date, and addressed "To all Scotsmen," exhorting them to return forthwith to the only true faith.[2] The boy-king, if he could be captured, was to be transported from Dunbar, or from Dunbarton, to the Court of France. Had the plot succeeded, how much might it have changed the religion and politics, not only of Scotland, but also of England, and even remoter lands.

We may here pause to look at the youthful king who was the object of so much solicitude to pope and to monarchs. Killigrew, the English ambassador, gives an interesting account of the precocious lad as he saw him at Stirling on the completion of his eighth year. He writes: "His grace is well grown, both in body and spirit, since I was last here. He speaketh the French tongue marvellous well; and that which seems strange to me, he was able *extempore* (which he did before me) to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of

[1] See Tytler, vi. 254, 255, and notes for authorities as to correspondence, and Bellesheim, iii. 245; Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 227. For an earlier attempt (1574) to have James transferred to Flanders, see Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 155.

[2] Bellesheim, iii. 246.

French after into English ; so well as few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters, Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Young, rare men, caused me to appoint the king what chapter I would ; and so did I, whereby I perceived it was not studied for. They also made his highness dance before me, which he likewise did with a very good grace ; a prince sure of great hope, if God send him life."[1] Four years had passed since then, and the rigour of Buchanan, with the gentler discipline of Young, had made the boy-king a very good scholar for his years. It was all that they could make him, a learned prince ; no schooling in the world would have made him a wise one.

The spring Assembly of 1578 was memorable for the moderatorship of Melville. Whether in or out of the moderator's chair he was the dominating spirit in the Kirk for more than twenty years.[2] And this can be said of him, which cannot be said of every man who has risen to a position of virtual dictatorship in Church or State, that he had honourably won the foremost place by learning, by ability, by character, and by indefatigable zeal for what he believed to be the true interests of Christ and the Church. Men speak of ministerial parity, of which in theory Melville was the advocate, as if any such thing could possibly exist in Church or in State. Melville himself exercised for many years in Scotland a wider and more substantial authority than was exercised in England by the archbishops of Canterbury and York. They ruled in virtue of their office within the limits of law and canon.

[1] MS. letter cited by Tytler, vi. 221, 222 ; Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 157.

[2] Burton, *Hist.* v. 146, has a suggestive note on the use of the words "church" and "kirk." He says, "We have seen that the word 'church' is employed in the title of the Book of Common Order, but in the legislative and official documents it is ever 'the kirk.' This is closer to the original *kurios oikos* than the English term, or even the German *kirche*."

Melville ruled by sheer force of character, practically unchecked save by his native shrewdness and Scottish caution.

The process of shearing the titular shepherds of their episcopal authority was continued in the next Assembly. We have seen that they were denuded of their diocesan duties, and limited to the care of particular flocks. Boyd of Glasgow now repeated his protest in writing, in which he affirmed, "I understand the name, office, and modest reverence borne to a bishop, to be lawful and allowable by the Scriptures of God; and being elected by the Church and king to be bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful." Melville and the Assembly were, however, too strong for him, and next year he made an unconditional submission.[1] The previous Assembly of 1578 had ordered that all bishops and other ecclesiastics with official titles should hereafter be called by their own names; and that chapters should cease, until further orders, to elect diocesan bishops. Further orders were now given, and the prohibitions, so far as the Assembly could enforce them, were made perpetual. The titulars, as we shall see, survived the ordeal.[2]

It is pleasant to turn aside from the wranglings of bishops and Assemblies to record the rehabilitation of the old "sang scuils." These ancient schools, combining as they did music with the arts and grammar, were a recognised feature in the mediæval scholastic system, and paved the way in many towns for the burgh and grammar schools that were founded before the Reformation. A statute of 1579 decrees their restoration "for instruction of youth in the art of music and singing which is almost

[1] Calderwood, iii. 426-433, 445; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 181-185.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 398-405, 410-413; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 172-181.

decayed, and shall shortly decay without timeous remedy be provided." The statute is evidence of the decay of the sacred art amidst the din of ecclesiastical controversy.

In the same year, 1579, the first Bible that was printed in Scotland came from the press of Arbuthnot and Bassandyne, Edinburgh. It is generally known as the Bassandyne Bible, and was printed from the second Genevan edition of 1561. It was partially used in Scotland, cumbered as it was with Calvinistic notes, until superseded by the English translation of 1611. An earlier translation of the Bible made by the Anglican Church was, as we have seen, approved by the Scottish Parliament a few years before the Reformation, and passed into circulation despite the opposition of the Roman prelates in Council.

The political entanglements of the period oblige us to pass for a brief space from the Church to the Court, from Melville to king James. In September 1579, Esmé Stuart, commonly known as lord D'Aubigny, nephew of the late earl of Lennox, came over from France and speedily became a favourite with the king.[1] It was the weakness of James's character that he was always the tool of men who humoured and flattered him. Esmé was a polished Frenchified Scot, and soon gained complete ascendency over his cousin, who created him earl, and subsequently duke, of Lennox. To support his rank the king made him chamberlain of Scotland, and added the abbacy of Arbroath.[2] A little later, there was another favourite, James Stewart, captain of the Royal Guard, second son of lord Ochiltree, and therefore John Knox's brother-in-law. He became in a short time earl of Arran ;

[1] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 231.

[2] The annual rental of the abbey is estimated at ten thousand crowns.—Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 77.

and the two counsellors, Lennox and Arran, led the king and the country a merry dance for some years.

Lennox was a Romanist, and secretly in league with the princes of Guise and the papacy; but he disguised his principles, averred that he had been converted by the king, and made a formal profession of Protestantism in 1580. Arran was an accomplished and unprincipled adventurer, without religious profession, though by heredity he ought to have been a Protestant. Under their influence the king broke off communication with Elizabeth, opened correspondence with his mother, and soon a little army of plotters and counterplotters was in the field. Morton was caught in their toils, and was accused, before the king in the council-chamber at Stirling, of being privy to the murder of Darnley his father. He denied the charge both then and afterwards, while admitting that he had been consulted about the murder without consenting to it. On this confession he was condemned, and beheaded at Edinburgh by the guillotine called "the Maiden," 2nd June 1581. There was no one to say a word of eulogy over his grave as he had done over Knox's. While the head was exposed as a traitor's on the Tolbooth, the headless body was buried in silence by some poor men on the evening of the execution. So fell the great earl of Morton. One may regret his fate, but there is deeper cause for regret that abilities such as his were not devoted with more disinterestedness to the service of his country. The four successive regents in the king's minority—Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton—were as unfortunate in their deaths as the five Jameses had been. Three of them died by treachery or violence, and Mar's death was not free from suspicion.

The Jesuits, who had been in Scotland as early as 1542, were now again active in the country, and sanguine

of its recovery to their faith. Many of the exiled Scottish priests had joined the Society of the Jesuits, and returned with renewed ardour to reconvert their countrymen. Father Hay had landed in Dundee in the winter of 1579, and great was the commotion in that protestant town over the appearance of the Jesuit. The ministers thundered from the pulpit, and declared that "the Jesuits were a new race of persons, far worse than papists"; and the Assembly took up the note and branded them as "the pestilent dregs of a most detestable idolatry." Three hundred Roman Catholics appeared in the church at Turriff, and prayed to God and the saints on bended knees for the conversion of the country; and another hundred publicly received their communion in Edinburgh at the Christmas of 1581.[1] A year before, Balcanqual, minister in Edinburgh, had roused the people in a sermon on the changed attitude of the papacy. Papists now, he said, openly avowed themselves in the streets of Edinburgh, where they discussed religion as freely as they did in the streets of Paris. In the king's palace, in kirk-sessions, and even in the general assemblies they also avowed their papistry and impugned the truth.[2] Lennox was the prime mover of this last effort of the Jesuits—the expiring flicker of a lost cause. Now that Morton was removed there was no one strong enough to resist his influence. He was mistrusted by the ministers; trusted, indeed, by few save the king; but the more he was mistrusted the deeper became his duplicity as a professed Protestant. Balcanqual afterwards directly attacked the duke from the pulpit in language which shows the peculiar taste of the age. He said "that within these four years popery had entered in the country,

[1] Forbes-Leith's *Narrative of Scot. Cath.* pp. 145, 177, 184.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 773-775; Spottiswoode, ii. 267.

not only in the court, but in the king's hall, and was maintained by the tyranny of a great champion which is called Grace, and if his Grace would oppose himself to God's Word, he should have little grace." On being summoned to defend his language he pleaded, as Knox used to plead, the privilege of the pulpit.[1]

During these proceedings Melville was busy preparing his final attack upon "pseudo-episcopacy," as he correctly called it. The Assembly met in Dundee, 12th July 1580, under the moderatorship of James Lawson, and everything was ready for the assault. At the fourth session an Act was passed by which Episcopacy as then established was formally condemned. It deposed the bishops not only from their episcopal office, but from all exercise of the ministry "until they receive *de novo* admission from the General Assembly of the Church, under the pain of excommunication to be used against them."[2] The Reformation settlement of 1560 had been made by Act of Parliament, though the queen never confirmed it; and the Concordat of Leith, which established titular Episcopacy, had the sanction of both Church and State; but here the Assembly arrogated to itself civil as well as ecclesiastical functions, and, regardless of Sovereign and Parliament, condemned the established religion of the time, and dared its chief ministers under the penalty of its excommunication to exercise the humblest office of their ministry. Under such an usurpation constitutional government was impossible; and it only affords one more proof that protestant supremacy could be in its own way as arrogant and intolerant as the papacy.

[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, iii. 125, 126; Calderwood, iii. 583, 584. Balcanqual's language in the pulpit was beyond all justification; *e.g.* he called Lennox "a profane French ruffian who in any other reformed country would be hanged before the sun."—Calderwood, iii. 775.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 463-473; Spottiswoode, ii. 272; *Book of the Univ. Kirk*, pp. 193-201.

The act of the Assembly remained in the meantime a dead letter, though it hampered the titular bishops and the more moderate section of churchmen in their action. Another Jesuit scare set the country on fire and diverted the attention of the Protestants. Papal letters were said to have been intercepted, granting dispensations to Roman Catholics in Scotland to profess any form of Protestant religion, provided they were true to their own faith. The Court took alarm, and the king, who must have been ignorant of the intrigues of Lennox, requested Craig, the minister, to frame a protestant manifesto.[1] This document, known as the King's Confession, or the Negative Confession, denounced in the severest terms "all kinds of papistry," "the Roman Antichrist," "the erroneous and bloody decrees of Trent," and so on. It was signed by the king, by all the members of his Court, and even by the hypocritical Lennox; and it was ordered by royal proclamation to be signed by all classes of the community. In after years, as often as the country got into fever panic over the conspiracies, real or alleged, of the Jesuits, the signing of the King's Confession was a panacea which soothed protestant alarm, and brought the temperature back to a normal point.[2]

After 1581 the Assemblies were held only once a year. It is not reported that the king or Council took any action as to the proceedings of the Dundee Assembly. On its meeting in Glasgow, April 1581, the king sent a letter expressing his earnest desire to make better provision for the ministers' stipends, and recommending with this object the formation of presbyteries throughout the kingdom. The Assembly welcomed the proposal, and the first presbyteries, thirteen in number—none

[1] Calderwood, iii. 501 - 505; Spottiswoode, ii. 268; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, i. 262, 263.

[2] Teulet, *R. P.* iii. 83.

north of Perth or west of Glasgow—were set up in Scotland.

The same Assembly that gave birth to the presbytery dealt a deathblow at the office of reader, which had hitherto formed the third grade of the Protestant ministry. It was now declared to be no longer necessary as an ordinary office in the Church, and was therefore not to be hereafter conferred. Many of the pre-Reformation priests in want of daily bread had accepted the humble office, and the "reader," despite this sentence of extinction, still lingered in remote places.

It may be convenient here, where we have reached the first establishment of the presbytery, which is the distinctive feature of the Presbyterian system, to review briefly the ecclesiastical condition of the country. Since 1572, the thirteen ancient dioceses, still retaining their former names, had been occupied more or less by titular bishops who professed to govern the flocks within their district. The real governors of the Kirk, however, were not the episcopal titulars, but the leading ministers,—Melville, Durie, Craig, Lawson, Pont, Balcanqual, Lindsay, and some lesser luminaries. These men were real, not titular rulers; they moulded the history of the times and live in its records. The titular bishops had but a name to live; and now have their record only in the pages of Keith's *Catalogue*, while even there they are not entitled to a place as true bishops by valid consecration in the Church of Christ. The old parochial divisions, dating from the time of king David I., also remained unchanged, and the parishes, numbering nearly a thousand, continued as they were, though many of them were without ministers until long after the Reformation.[1] In 1567 there were only

[1] In a document presented to the Assembly of 1581 it is stated that there were 924 parishes in Scotland, not including the dioceses of Argyll

257 ministers assisted by 151 exhorters, and 455 readers; and in 1574 the numbers had increased to 289 ministers and 715 readers. The peculiar order of exhorters was dropped in the interval, probably being merged in minister or reader; and now, in 1581, the latter was doomed to pass away. It is difficult to see the wisdom of the Assembly in abolishing the reader at this stage, as more than the half, if not two-thirds, of the parishes were still unprovided with ministers.[1]

To return to the Assembly of 1581. It confirmed the abolition of the episcopal order decreed the previous year, and approved of the King's Confession. It also launched upon the Church a new code of ecclesiastical polity which received the name of the Second Book of Discipline. Since 1578 this code had been in hand, and Morton had tried in vain to suppress or modify it. Several conferences were held between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities on the subject; and in one held at Stirling between a committee of Parliament and certain commissioners of the Church the document was examined article by article; some were accepted, some rejected, and others deferred for further consideration.[2] The Assembly which at Dundee had boldly legislated on things ecclesiastical in despite of the Crown, was none the less solicitous to secure its sanction for the new code; but beyond the revision at Stirling the civil authority would not go. And so the Assembly resolved that "the Book of Policy, agreed upon in divers Assemblies before, should be registered in the Acts of the Kirk and remain therein, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and that a copy thereof should be taken by

and the Isles from which the returns had not been received. — *Book of Univ. Kirk*, p. 212.

[1] *Miscellany* of the Wodrow Society, i. 321-396.

[2] Spottiswoode gives, *Hist.* ii. 233-256, from the original copy in his possession, used at Stirling, the articles seriatim with notes of agreement and disagreement.

every presbytery."[1] The remarkable thing is that the presbyteries here referred to, and so recently organised, are not once named in this Second Book of Discipline. It recognises four ecclesiastical convocations, (1) the Œcumenical, for all nations—practically a dead letter, (2) the National, represented by the General Assembly, (3) the Provincial, namely the Synod, and (4) the Congregational or Kirk-Session. The omission of the presbytery shows that the idea of that court was not present to the minds of the compilers while drafting their polity; and, so far as appears, the court which is now more especially distinctive of presbyterial government owes its existence to the suggestion of James VI. as a device for the better payment of ministers.

The Second Book of Discipline contains thirteen chapters; and is less than half the size of the First Book. It must suffice here, after the details given of the earlier code, to mention the chief points of difference between the two. The laying on of hands in ordination, which had been dispensed with in the First Book, is here restored (Chapter III.), but there is less stress laid on doctrine, and less reverence shown in treating of the sacraments. The respective positions of the civil and ecclesiastical powers have also undergone a change, and a very vital one. The First Book recognised the people as the source of ecclesiastical power, the Second aimed at creating a hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts, resting on the will of the people as its foundation, but controlling that will in its actual exercise, and altogether independent of the civil magistrate.[2] "Nothing," says Burton,[3] "can be more perfect than the analysis by which the two ruling powers are separated from each other, and the ecclesias-

[1] *Book of the Univ. Kirk*, p. 219. [2] Grub, ii. 224.
[3] *Hist.* v. 203.

tical set above the secular. The civil power was entitled to command the spiritual to do its duty; but then the magistrate was not to have authority to 'execute the censures of the Church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done.' This is to be entirely in the hands of the Church; and in enforcing it the State is to be the Church's servant, for it is the magistrate's duty 'to assist and maintain the discipline of the Kirk, and punish them civilly that will not obey the discipline of the same.' Thus the State could give no effective orders to the Church, but the Church could order the State to give material effect to its rules and punishments." The spiritual power of the keys, which, it says, "our Master gave to the apostles and their true successors," is also carefully safeguarded in Chapter X. from the usurpation of the civil magistrate. The Patronage Act of 1874 was anticipated by the twelfth chapter, which deprived the Crown and nobles of the right of patronage, and conferred it upon the elders and congregation.

Burton, who remarks that the Constitution of the Kirk with its Assemblies and lesser meetings was a complete adaptation from the ecclesiastical code of the Huguenots, says of the Second Book of Discipline—"It is a document thoroughly French in its conception and tenor. . . . It is, in fact, a revision of the Huguenot discipline adopted at the first national synod of the Reformed Church of France, held at Paris in 1559. It is much shorter than the French document, yet far more complete, and any one comparing the two will find that they bear to each other the relation of a rough draft which has been completed and polished by able hands. The First Book of Discipline is full of controversy and denunciation. Knox presided at its construction, and wherever his hand was it would be against some other.

The Second Book was the work chiefly of Andrew Melville, a man also of strong will and vehement temper, but endowed with a finer sense of decorum and logical aptness."[1]

The Second Book of Discipline marked a notable advance in Melville's march to victory; but as yet the divine right of Presbyterianism was not inscribed on his banner. The presbytery, though set up in some districts, was not recognised as an integral part of the Church's constitution. It has been represented as a development of "the weekly exercise," or "prophesying," which had largely fallen into abeyance; but "the exercise bore less resemblance to the presbytery than the superintendent to the bishop."[2] Time, however, only was wanting to complete the presbyterial polity by the addition of this important link to its chain of ecclesiastical courts.

The death of Boyd, who had been troublesome as the titular archbishop of Glasgow, involved the Church through his successor in a disgraceful squabble which the Melvillians not unnaturally turned to their own advantage. Boyd's successor, Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, had hitherto been a violent opponent of Episcopacy. A poorer type of man to fight a battle on any question of principle could hardly have been found, and the manner of his appointment was even worse than the man. The duke of Lennox was bent on seizing the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow, and he wanted a pliable incumbent as an accomplice. After others had honourably refused, he found a tool in Montgomery whom he persuaded to accept the title of archbishop and "the yearly payment of 1000 pounds Scots, with some horse corn and poultry," while his Grace was to pocket the revenues of the see. The unblushing simony of the

[1] *Hist.* v. 202, 203. [2] Grub, ii. 225.

transaction covered the parties with obloquy and the whole episcopate with odium. It gave rise to the name of "tulchan bishops," which stuck to them for a generation; and the byword still enlivens Scottish humour when disposed to be playful over Episcopacy. The origin of the name tulchan is explained in the following sentence from the speech of Dickson, moderator in the Assembly of 1639—"When a cow will not give her milk, they stuff a calf's skin full of straw and set it down before the cow, and that was called a tulchan. So these bishops, possessing the title and the benefice, without the office, they wist not what name to give them, and so they called them tulchan bishops."[1] Some writers have mixed up indiscriminately the titular and the tulchan bishops; but there is a marked distinction between both their origin and character. The titulars were the creation of Church and State, accepted by both in the Concordat of Leith, probably with a view to a valid Episcopate, and were as a body honourable men, although few of them were distinguished either for learning or for administration. The tulchans, degenerate titulars, were men of straw, clerical calves, the creatures of some worldly patron, like-minded with their masters. An institution may withstand opposition and even persecution, unless it proceed, like that of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, to extermination; but no institution can long withstand the concentrated ridicule of a nation. And so the nickname of "tulchan"—calf of straw—ultimately proved fatal to the bishops of that stamp.

The personal career of Montgomery is not worth the attention that has been bestowed upon it. In face of the Assembly's inhibition, he appeared in Glasgow to assert his claim to the bishopric, and attempted to pull the

[1] From Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 248.

minister out of the cathedral pulpit. When the presbytery of Glasgow met to pronounce decreit against him, they were assailed by the corporation and citizens. In the fray beards were pulled and teeth knocked out, and finally the moderator of the presbytery was locked up in the Tolbooth. In Edinburgh there was another encounter between the local presbytery and the corporation, which ended in Montgomery's being expelled from the city, "men pursuing him with batons, and wives and boys pelting him with stones and rotten eggs." The king had backed the tulchan bishop for the sake of Lennox, but when he heard at Perth of Montgomery's ludicrous expulsion from the capital, he threw himself down on the Inch and gave way to roars of laughter.[1]

An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was held in Edinburgh at the end of June 1582, Melville again being moderator. In his sermon he inveighed against "the bloodie gullie of absolute authority, whereby men intended to pull the crown off Christ's head, and to wring the sceptre out of His hands." Melville's metaphors are mixed, but his meaning is clear. A committee was appointed to lay before the king, who was then at Perth, "the griefs of the Kirk," and its remonstrances against the Council's interference with its jurisdiction. When the document was produced, the earl of Arran demanded with some temper, "Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," said Melville boldly; whereupon he advanced to the table and signed his name, the others following his example. The resolute bearing of the ministers made both the king and his advisers hesitate before provoking further opposition. The deputation was

[1] Calderwood, iii. 577-634; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 256-258.

accordingly dismissed with a plausible reply—which did not by any means satisfy the Assembly.[1]

Many of the nobles, encouraged by queen Elizabeth, "that old fomenter of sedition," had recourse at this time to a secret conspiracy for the purpose of undermining the influence of Lennox and Arran. They decoyed the king in August 1582 to Gowrie's seat at Huntingtower near Perth, where they made him virtually a prisoner, as they also did with Arran who came to his rescue. This affair, known as the Raid of Ruthven, was warmly applauded by the Protestant ministers, who both hated and feared the malign influence of Lennox. Arran was kept in confinement, and Lennox was ordered to leave the country, which he did after many delays.[2]

In the autumn of this year, 28th September 1582, a once prominent figure in Scottish politics and literature, George Buchanan, died in Edinburgh. For some time he had lived all but forgotten, busy on the History of Scotland, his last but not his best work. His closing years were passed in poverty, not discreditable to himself, but less than creditable to his Protestant friends, and to his royal pupil whom he had faithfully tutored and fearlessly birched. Buchanan was buried at the public expense in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, where a plain stone, long since removed, once marked the grave of Scotland's greatest classical scholar.[3]

[1] Calderwood, iii. 628-631.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 637-647.

[3] Buchanan defamed many public men in his day, and at least one woman, his own sovereign and benefactor, and he has since been repaid in something like his own coin. Among modern writers, Bellesheim (iii. 264) says that "his personal character can only be called contemptible"; and Hossack in his *Mary Queen of Scots*, ii. 248, stigmatises him as "the prince of literary prostitutes."

# CHAPTER VII

## JAMES VI.—FROM 1582 TO FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN 1592

Presbyteries deal with titular bishops—Embassy from France, its reception—Ministers and the Raid of Ruthven—Visit of Brown the English sectary—Melville escapes to Berwick—Adamson visits English bishops—Acts of Parliament 1584, "the Black Acts"—Compulsory subscription of the Acts—Adamson and Melville collide—Banished lords and fugitive ministers in London—Their return—Capture of king at Stirling—Balcanqual and the king dispute in the kirk—Mutual excommunications of Adamson and the Melvilles—Presbyterians refuse to pray for queen Mary—Scene in an Edinburgh church—Execution of queen Mary—Attempt to extrude prelates from Parliament—Act of Annexation—Spanish Armada preceded by troops of Jesuits—King James's marriage—Death of Erskine of Dun—Pont of St. Cuthbert's bishop of Caithness—King's reputed speech in favour of Presbytery—Scots ministers favour English Puritans—Death of archbishop Adamson—Assembly of 1592 presents four Articles to Parliament—Titular Episcopacy abolished and Presbytery for the first time established—Review of ecclesiastical polity.

THE Assembly which met at Edinburgh in October 1582, under David Lindsay as moderator, was honoured with two commissioners sent by the king to watch its proceedings. The ministers were implicated in the Raid of Ruthven, and they did not hesitate to confirm their approval of it in the Assembly, and to order all ministers to commend it to their flocks under pain of ecclesiastical censure. An order was also given for the formation of presbyteries in the northern districts; and certain

presbyteries elsewhere had work provided for them, in the citation and trial of the titular archbishop of St. Andrews and six other diocesan prelates. The charges brought against them were of the usual description. After trial and conviction, they were to be remitted from the presbytery to the Assembly. It was here that the iron entered into the souls of the titular bishops—that they were constitutionally bound to obey the Assembly. No bishops in Catholic history were more restricted by the decrees of a General Council than these unhappy titulars were by the laws of the General Assembly. So patent was the object of the Assembly that its leaders never disguised it—namely, to worry the titular bishops out of court, and, if possible, out of official existence.

In the following Assembly, April 1583, further instructions were issued to presbyteries to be diligent in the pursuit of episcopal delinquents. Orders were also passed on the subject of baptism, which show the high prerogatives claimed for the new ministry. Baptism by laymen was now declared to be invalid (the voice of Catholic Christendom had not presumed to say as much), and baptism by men whose ordination was not according to the new protestant pattern was ruled to be no better. Re-baptism was accordingly ordered in both cases.[1]

While the king was still virtually a prisoner in the hands of the confederate lords, an embassy, consisting of de Mainville and Fenelon, arrived from France. The ministers at once attacked them in the pulpits, calling the French king a tiger glutted with the blood of God's saints, and declaiming specially against Fenelon, who, as a knight of the order of St. Esprit, wore the badge of a white cross upon his shoulder, which the ministers

1 Calderwood, iii. 675-689, 705-713; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 259-277.

stigmatised as the badge of Antichrist.[1] Not content with railing at them in sermons, four of the ministers—Pont, Lawson, Lindsay, and Davidson—remonstrated with the king in person. He answered them that he was bound by the law of nations to use courtesy to all ambassadors, even though they came from the pope or the Turk. James, as his manner was, had interlarded his arguments with more profane swearing than the ministers thought seemly, and the faithful Davidson tarried behind for a private remonstrance. "Sir," said he, "I thought good to advertise you, but not before the rest, that ye swore and took God's name in vain too often in your speeches." James did not resent the merited rebuke, but patted the honest minister kindly on the shoulder, and thanked him for the unusual moderation of his reproof. On the eve of Fenelon's departure the magistrates of Edinburgh entertained him at a banquet. The ministers responded by proclaiming a fast; and while James and his subjects were merry in the hall, the ministers were "crying out all evil, slanderous, and injurious words that could be spoken against France," "and threatening with anathema and excommunication the citizens who had dared to countenance the unhallowed feast."[2]

On the 25th June 1583, the king made his escape from the thraldom of his captors and threw himself into St. Andrews castle.[3] Arran was recalled to Court, and a proclamation was issued declaring the Raid of Ruthven to be treason, but holding out pardon to the accomplices on condition of their submission. Most of them submitted, but it was not so easy for the Kirk to resile from

[1] Teulet, *R. P.* iii. 184-199; Spottiswoode, ii. 297.

[2] Tytler, vi. 344; Spottiswoode, ii. 297, 298; Calderwood, iii. 697, 702; *History of James Sext*, pp. 196, 197.

[3] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 355.

its position, nor were the ministers in any humour to do so. Many of them defended the capture of the king as a political necessity. Durie and Melville did so in violent language, the latter warning the king by the examples of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and his ancestor, James III. Durie was relegated to the districts north of the Tay, which was a mild form of banishment in those times.[1] Melville pleaded that his language in the pulpit was to be judged in the first instance by the presbytery, and not by the king's Court, even if it were treasonable; and he is said in the records of the Privy Council to have declared "proudly, irreverently, and contemptuously that the laws of God and the practices observed within this country were perverted, and not observed, in his case."[2] He was ordered to be warded in Blackness; but he took the advice of his friends and fled to Berwick, the traditional haven of Scottish refugees.

Scotland was favoured in the beginning of this year (1584) with a visit from Robert Brown, the English sectary, who gave his name for a time to the first sectarians in England—the "Brownists." He came from Flanders to Dundee, and was taken in hand by Melville, who was still at St. Andrews. Brown was commended by him to Lawson in Edinburgh, but he soon proved as troublesome to the local presbytery as he had been to the English hierarchy. He refused to submit to their discipline, and when they offered to handle him as they were handling Scottish subjects he, with some inconsistency, threatened an appeal to the civil courts.

Adamson, the titular archbishop, had been busy for some months in England explaining to the bishops and dignitaries there the ecclesiastical situation in Scotland. For the information of his English brethren, as well as

[1] Calderwood, iii. 762-764. [2] Spottiswoode, ii. 308, 309.

for a defence of his position at home, Adamson published a summary of his principles containing four articles on the relation of the Crown to the Church, and fifteen on the status of the Christian ministry. The first portion makes "princes chief heads under Christ, as well in ecclesiastical polity as temporal, and their judgment in both to be sovereign." The second claims apostolic institution for the office of bishop, and declares that it is most agreeable to the primitive Church; that ordination and government belong to the bishops; that seniors or elders of the laic sort are neither agreeable with the Scriptures nor with the primitive Church; that presbyteries do little else than make confusion in the Church and continual sedition; that shifting moderators were like shifting wardens among the friars, but like nothing in the earlier ages; that the General Assembly had no power to convene itself, but should be convened by license of the prince upon good and weighty occasions; and, further, should have no power to make laws within the realm but by authority of the prince and the Estates.

Adamson was commissioned by the king to submit the articles to the English bishops for their approval and subscription. Melville was indignant at his rival's movements, —the two men were virtually rival archbishops in Scotland, —and wrote to the Churches of Geneva and Zurich, abusing Adamson in not very ecclesiastical language.[1]

A crisis was reached in the Parliament held in Edinburgh, 19th May 1584. James, for several reasons, of which historians give different accounts, had acquired a strong dislike of Presbytery; some say a very early distaste for it, in reaction from the republicanism of his tutor Buchanan. From the Reformation downwards there

[1] Calderwood, iv. 49-55, 157-167; and Melville's *Diary*, pp. 141, 148-164.

had been a continuous struggle between the Church and the Crown as to the lines of demarcation between the two jurisdictions. In this Parliament James set himself to grapple with the troublesome ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by Melville and his supporters. Four Acts were passed, the first of which ratified the ancient jurisdiction of the Three Estates; the second declared the king to be supreme in all causes and over all persons; the third enacted that all Convocations must receive the royal license; and the fourth, that the chief jurisdiction of the Church should be lodged in the hands of the bishops and other commissioners, with authority to visit churches and ministers, reform the colleges, and give collation to benefices.

The University of St. Andrews was supposed to stand in special need of reform from the republican doctrines with which Melville, its principal, had leavened it. The writings of George Buchanan, his *History of Scotland*, and especially his democratic treatise, *De Jure Regni*, were also ordered to be recalled and submitted to the Secretary of State for revision and correction.[1] This was in accordance with many precedents set by the General Assembly in its censorship of the press.

These Acts were not sprung unawares upon the country, although their publication made a very natural commotion among the Melvillians. Lindsay was apprised of their tenor beforehand, and had been appointed by the other ministers, from his influence with the king, to remonstrate with his majesty. Before he could deliver his protest he was seized in his own house on the charge of illegal correspondence with England, and arbitrarily warded in Blackness. Pont and Balcanqual protested at the market cross against the Acts. They did not await

[1] Tytler, vi. 389.

the results of their protestation, but fled precipitately to Berwick, as did also Lawson, the minister of St. Giles'.[1]

The Presbyterian writers of that day stigmatised the Acts of 1584 as "The Black Acts," and the pithy epithet has been handed down by successive historians to our own time. The action of the Parliament has been also condemned as arbitrary and tyrannical, although it was supported by several of the leading Reformers, among others by Erskine of Dun, "the most venerable champion of the Kirk."[2] It may in all historic fairness be represented that the Parliament of 1584, which curtailed the powers of the Assembly and confirmed the principle of Episcopacy, was as free and constitutional as the Parliament of 1560 which overthrew the Roman Catholic hierarchy and established Protestantism in its place. That Parliament never received the sanction of the reigning sovereign, and was open to the charge of illegality which astute lawyers, like Maitland, the chairman, could only evade by a straining of the Constitution. Again, the Parliament of 1592, which supplanted Episcopacy by Presbyterianism, was no more free or constitutional than the Parliament of 1584, which legislated in an opposite direction. It has been too much the fashion with some historians to label things white or black, Acts of Parliament included, according as they promoted or retarded the success of their own cause.

The triumph of Episcopacy in 1584 was brief. Eight years saw another revolution of the ecclesiastical wheel, and the same king, in the Parliament of 1592, sanctioning the establishment, for the first time in Scotland, of a Presbyterian Church. And again, eight years later, the last year of the century witnessed another reversion, the same

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iii. 290-312; Calderwood, iv. 62-73; Spottiswoode, ii. 315; Tytler, vi. 390.

[2] Tytler, vi. 430.

king restoring Episcopacy, and nominating three bishops, one of whom was the David Lindsay who had protested against the Episcopacy of 1584. Ministers were sometimes no more consistent than the vacillating king, who earned for himself the reputation and title of "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Following up the enactments of May, a subsequent Parliament in August of the same year ordered all beneficed persons, ministers, readers, masters of colleges and schools, to subscribe the previous Acts under pain of forfeiting their benefices. The ministers between Stirling and Berwick were required to make subscription in Edinburgh before the 16th November. Several who were cited did not appear, and of those who did some would only subscribe with the proviso, so far as the Acts were "agreeable with God's Word," which was permitted.[1]

A war of pamphlets and "scurrile poems" now became the order of the day. Adamson was in the field with a treatise on the king's prerogative and the Scriptural constitution of a reformed Episcopacy. Melville answered him with at least equal learning and superior vituperation. Adamson charged Melville with imitating the ways of the pope in claiming exemption from all civil jurisdiction, and in creating a spiritual tyranny by means of the new-fangled presbyteries; he argued in defence of the episcopal office, as having been universal in Christendom from the beginning, and as having existed in Scotland from the very introduction of Christianity into the country until within a few years back, when curious and busy men had invented the novelty of parity among ministers. Melville retaliated with the charge that Episcopacy was only an artifice for introducing a new popedom in the person of the king, and

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iii. 347; Calderwood, iv. 209-211, 246, 247; Spottiswoode, ii. 321.

that for this purpose the jurisdiction assigned by Christ to the Church had been transferred to the bishops who were nothing but cyphers and creatures of the king.[1] The heat of the controversy, like others of its kind, generated personalities. Adamson described Melville as "an ambitious man of a salt and fiery humour"; and Melville retorted by calling Adamson "a juggler, a Howliglass, a drunkard, a vile Epicurean."[2] In force of language Melville and his backers had the best of it. Each party could see clearly the beam in the other's eye; it is possible, even at a remoter distance, to discern motes in the eyes of both.

The policy of the king in compelling submission to the Acts of Parliament was so far successful that many of the ministers subscribed them, although some who did so hated them all the more heartily for their enforced subscription. One of the fugitive ministers wrote a letter from Berwick to a weak brother who had subscribed. "It told," says Tytler,[3] "in homely but expressive phrase that all the ministers betwixt Stirling and Berwick, all Lothian, and all the Merse had subscribed, with only ten exceptions; amongst whom the most noted were Patrick Simpson and Robert Pont; that the Laird of Dun (Erskine), the most venerable champion of the Kirk, had so far receded from his primitive faith as to have become a pest to the ministry in the north; that John Durie, who had so long resisted, had 'cracked his curple' at last, and closed his mouth; that John Craig, so long the coadjutor of Knox, and John Brand, his colleague, had submitted; that the pulpits in Edinburgh were nearly silent—so fearful had been the defection—

[1] Calderwood, iv. 254 *seq.*

[2] See Spottiswoode, ii. 316, for the letter sent by the fugitive ministers from Edinburgh to its Kirk-Session, in which they wrote of "the tyrannical reginen of bishops—gross libertines, belly-gods, and infamous."

[3] *Hist.* vi. 430.

except, said he, a very few who sigh and sob under the cross."

Three of the Edinburgh ministers—Lawson, Pont, and Balcanqual—were in exile; and Adamson, whose archdiocese included the capital, supplied their place in person and by substitutes. He was an eloquent preacher, and his services were not unacceptable in Edinburgh, although the citizens bore him a grudge for an accredited share in the banishment of their ministers. Two ministers in Edinburgh, Watson and Gibson, were warded in Blackness for violent abuse of the king, and Dalglish, Pont's substitute in St. Cuthbert's, was, upon slighter warrant, committed to the Tolbooth. Tyrannical as the king was, some allowance must be made for him in consideration of foul-mouthed fanatics like Gibson, who were restrained by no sense of decency or loyalty from the most seditious and abusive language. The presbytery did not restrain its unruly members; and the Court was often goaded into retaliation when forbearance would have been the wiser policy.[1]

The fugitive ministers lived to return to Edinburgh—but not all of them. Lawson took the troubles of the Church so much to heart that he fell ill and died in London. His life for the last twelve years had been spent as minister of St. Giles', to which he was called from the principalship of Aberdeen college, his induction being the last public act of John Knox. He was a well-read and scholarly man, of peaceable disposition, though said to have been too easily swayed by the popular voice. In the previous year (1583) his successor in the office of principal, Alexander Arbuthnot, of the house of Arbuthnot, in the Mearns, died in Aberdeen. He received his earlier education in Lawson's company, and afterwards

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 321, 335.

went to France, where he studied for five years under the learned Cujacius. He was a man of wide erudition, reputed to be "a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologue, lawyer, and in medicine skilful." "The admirable Crichton" had just dazzled the world like a meteor with his brilliant gifts—he died in 1582,—and Arbuthnot's reputation among his own countrymen stood only second to his. Another scholar who died in this year was Thomas Smeaton, the successor of Melville as principal of Glasgow college. He was a native of Gask, near Perth, a student at St. Salvator's in St. Andrews, and then at Paris; a Jesuit for some years until after his residence in Geneva, where he changed his opinions and became a Protestant. He was an excellent linguist, and well read in the Fathers, owing the latter accomplishment most probably to his foreign education. Both Arbuthnot and Smeaton added lustre to their universities; but as men of the study, mixing little in the debates of Assemblies, their names are less known than those of Lawson and the other leading ministers. All the three men died in middle life; Lawson at forty-six, Arbuthnot at forty-five, and Smeaton at forty-seven.[1]

In November 1585 the country went through the throes of another revolution. In the train of the young duke of Lennox came a handsome and accomplished Scot, known as the Master of Gray, son of the baron of that name, who soon became a favourite at Court. The king himself was ungainly in person, his ugliness being, as Burton says, offensive; but, like queen Elizabeth, he "liked to look upon a handsome man." The new favourite was more handsome than Arran, and still more unprin-

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 318-320, gives a generous account of their learning and virtues, which is a happy contrast to the style of the Presbyterian historian Calderwood, when writing of public men of the opposite school. See, for example, his abuse of Adamson.

cipled. In all his dealings, but especially in his betrayal of queen Mary, there is revealed a depth of villainy unmatched in that unscrupulous age. One of his first objects was to undermine the influence of Arran and, if possible, work his ruin. For this purpose a league was formed with the banished lords in England, with the connivance of the English Court, which had a hand in every northern conspiracy. The fugitive ministers were also privy to the league, and met the banished lords in London; and Calderwood tells how, on the eve of the proposed expedition, the ministers "keeped a very earnest exercise of humiliation at Westminster, where many tears were poured out before the Lord."[1] In a short time the barons marched northwards to Stirling with their forces, and by a *coup d'état* captured the town, the castle, and the king. Arran made his escape. The king was an early adept in hypocrisy, and when they professed on bended knees that they had come to do him homage and to protect him, he accepted their professions as if he believed them.[2]

The fugitive ministers speedily followed the banished lords across the border. They gathered at Dumfries, and attempted to hold a meeting in the town, but were expelled; they then moved north to Linlithgow, where they waited to see what good fortune the change of government would bring them. They waited in vain. The nobles, while profuse in promises, were busy securing their own interests. The ministers were left out in the cold, and the king called them a "pack of seditious knaves." With this experience of the wisdom of the Scriptural admonition not to put their trust in princes, they returned to their several charges. Balcanqual again occupied his old pulpit in Edinburgh, and shortly afterwards (January 1586), when he had the king among his audience, he

[1] *Hist.* iv. 381. [2] Spottiswoode, ii. 330, 334.

discoursed upon the unlawfulness of bishops. James, who believed himself an expert theologian, rose from his seat and challenged the preacher, offering to pledge his crown that he could prove the lawfulness of Episcopacy. The unseemly altercation went on between the royal pew and the pulpit. There is a fine touch of the ludicrous in the picture, and it may be safely said that no other country but Scotland could have produced it.

Melville had also returned to St. Andrews, and was moving on the old lines against Episcopacy and its leading representative, Adamson. The Provincial Synod of Fife had not met for two years; it was now summoned to censure the bishop, but there were doubts about the proper procedure. At last it was agreed to cite Adamson in the afternoon, and when he compeared they accused him of being the author of the Acts of 1584, of penning the declaration published by the king, and of slandering the brethren in his embassy to England. The bishop refuted the several charges, while reminding them that they were not his judges, and appealing his case to the Council, or to the Three Estates of the realm, or to any other lawful assembly convened by his majesty. By a majority of two they agreed to excommunicate him, but neither the moderator nor any other member would pronounce the sentence. As they were dissolving, "a young fellow, named Mr. Andrew Hunter, willed them to stay, professing that he was warned by the Spirit to pronounce the sentence; and so, ascending the chair, he read the same out of a book, a few only remaining as witnesses." Hunter was a servant of Melville, and the strange proceeding was parodied next day by two of the bishop's servants going with his cousin to the same church in the time of prayer and excommunicating Andrew and James Melville and some other members of synod.

On neither side probably were the parties much hurt by the excommunications, although the cause of religion must have suffered from the discreditable scenes.[1] Adamson's case came up on appeal in the Assembly held in Edinburgh, 10th May 1586. The king was present, and gave his vote for his favourite, David Lindsay, as moderator. Adamson made a qualified submission to the Assembly, influenced by the king, who was anxious to avoid an open rupture with the ministers. The sentence against the bishop was not withdrawn, but ignored as never having been pronounced. Melville entered his protest against the compromise, though it was really a victory for his party, and fatal to the cause of titular Episcopacy.[2]

The attention of Scotsmen was withdrawn for a time from the wranglings of Church courts to public events in England. It was known towards the end of 1586 that Elizabeth and her Council had resolved upon the execution of queen Mary. She had been mixed up—pardonably, as most will allow—in various schemes for deliverance from a long captivity which was as unjustifiable as it was cruel, seeing that Mary had been guilty of no offence against the Crown of England. The Babington conspiracy implicated her in a graver plot against the life of Elizabeth; and Mary's letters, interpolated by forgeries, were used as evidence of her guilt.[3] The shifts and devices resorted to by Elizabeth and her legal advisers, Burghley, Walsingham, and Davison, are the best vindication of Mary's innocence of the capital charge on which she was con-

[1] Calderwood, iv. 494-547; Spottiswoode, ii. 337-340; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 245-247.

[2] Calderwood, iv. 547-583; Spottiswoode, ii. 341-343; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 289-313.

[3] See Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 433 *seq.* for Babington's assurance that the plot was known only by two others besides himself. See also p. 458 and note, and pp. 486-491, for falsification of Mary's letters.

demned. James was unnaturally callous to the fate of his mother. It is true he had never seen her since his childhood—Mary's last visit to her son having been made on the ill-starred day when she was captured by Bothwell on her return from Stirling,—and he had been educated under the influence of men, tutors and nobles, whose interest it was to blacken her character. But human nature is the same in the child of prince as of peasant, and the unnatural conduct of James leaves an indelible stain on his memory. The Crown of England was weighed in the balance against the life of his mother; and though he would willingly have secured both, yet when put to the dilemma he shamefully sacrificed the one to make additionally sure of the other. All that he did was to remonstrate against the violence that threatened his mother, and to send among other envoys to Elizabeth the Master of Gray, a man who had already betrayed Mary, and whose treachery James must have known.[1]

The king asked the ministers, but not till three months after her trial, to pray for his mother. All of them, excepting Lindsay and the king's own chaplains, refused. They were asked to pray "that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of His truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast,"—a sentiment which might have commended itself even to her enemies. The 3rd of February was appointed for public prayer, and Adamson was asked to officiate; "which," says Spottiswoode,[2] "when the ministers understood, they stirred up Mr. John Cowper, a young man not entered as yet in the function, to take the pulpit before the time and exclude the bishop." When the king entered the church and saw the youth in the pulpit he addressed him from his seat:

[1] Teulet, *R. P.* iii. 324 and *Papiers*, etc. iii. 504, 506.
[2] *Hist.* ii. 356.

"Mr. John, that place is destined for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given and remember my mother in your prayers, you may go on." He replied that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him, upon which he was ordered to come down. Upon his refusal, the captain of the guard approached him, and Cowper came down, but not before he had told the king that that day should be a witness against him in the last judgment, and had also pronounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh.[1] Adamson is said to have discoursed eloquently on the duty of Christians to pray for all men, carrying with him the sympathies of his audience, for "they grieved sore to see their teachers so far overtaken, and condemned their obstinacy in that point."[2]

Mary was executed at Fotheringay on the morning of the 8th, by new style the 18th, February 1587.[3] Her execution sent a thrill of horror through every State in Europe, and aroused a feeling of indignation which, if it did not surprise, certainly alarmed for the time, both Elizabeth and her advisers. The feeling in Mary's native Scotland was still more pronounced, and vengeance was vowed in many a northern home against "the auld enemy." Barons swore that they would sleep in mail until they had wiped out the murder of their queen in a sea of blood.[4] James was at first stunned by the blow, and refused to see the English ambassador who had been sent with a lying despatch from Elizabeth, throwing the blame "of the miserable accident which has befallen, far contrary to my meaning," on her Secretaries of State who, she alleged, had taken Mary's life without her authority. To sustain the discreditable farce, she accused her councillors

[1] Kirkton's *History*, ed. Sharpe, p. 11, note.

[2] Spottiswoode, ii. 356.

[3] Teulet, *R. P.* iv. 153-164. "Le vray rapport de l'execution."—Teulet, *Papiers*, iii. 563, 576.

[4] See Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 524, 567.

of having deceived her, drove lord Burghley from her presence, and committed her secretary Davison to the Tower.[1] The hypocritical passion deceived no one, not even James. England had been guilty of a great public crime which all the craft of Elizabeth failed to explain away. The scaffold of Fotheringay and the touching details of that bleak February morning make a weird termination to the most romantic and chequered life in Scottish history, and yet, after all, it was a happier death-bed than awaited her rival and murderer.[2] Mary's body was buried in Peterborough cathedral beside the remains of queen Katharine, first wife of Henry VIII., and after James's accession to the English throne it was transferred by him for final sepulture in Westminster Abbey. There the ashes lie side by side of the rival queens, Mary and Elizabeth, who never saw each other in life. Such is the irony of history.

Every nation in Europe was against Elizabeth. Henry III. of France (Navarre) only accepted her lame apologies for the judicial murder in expectation of her assistance to crush the League and the princes of Guise.[3] It hastened the preparation of the Spanish Armada which sailed in the following year to cripple, if not to conquer, the dominion of England. One miscreant deeply involved in the tragedy failed to receive the due reward of his deeds. The Master of Gray was tried for treason and condemned, but only to exile, when he ought to have forfeited his life for his unpardonable villainy.[4]

[1] Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. p. xv., suggests that Elizabeth's hypocrisy deserves further investigation. See also, iii. 540, 568.

[2] For Elizabeth's death-bed see Tytler, vii. 473-475; Teulet, *R. P.* iv. 291-293; *Papiers*, iii. 687; Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vii. 284, *seq.*; and Green's *History of the English People*, ii. 499.

[3] The preacher in St. Eustache, Paris, was stopped in his sermon on queen Mary's death by the sympathetic commotion of the people.—Teulet, *Papiers*, iii. 556.

[4] Tytler, vii. 133; Teulet, *R. P.* iv. 203.

In the Parliament of July 1587, affairs of some moment to the Church were transacted. It had been a standing grievance of the Assembly that the prelates continued their Parliamentary duties as one of the Three Estates, and took part in the legislation of the Kingdom. Seeing that they had ceased to represent the Spirituality, the contention of the Assembly was reasonable, whether prompted by jealousy or not. But it was felt that the political constitution of the country was too delicate a machine to be remodelled in the face of forces palpitating with revolution. Commissioners from the Church appeared in Parliament, and demanded that the prelates should be extruded from their seats. The abbot of Kinloss defended the rights of the prelatic order and turned the attack upon the ministers who, he said, not content with having driven them from the altar, were now scheming to banish them from the senate. The attack failed for the time, and prelates, including the bishops, continued to sit in Parliament.[1]

The ministers, however, had their full satisfaction in another way. An Act of Annexation was passed which stripped the bishops of their episcopal revenues and left them as poor as the parochial ministers. All the temporalities of the bishoprics were annexed to the Crown; and thus the last acre of the Church's patrimony passed out of its hands, leaving the bishops nothing but the palaces and their share of the tithes. This ill-advised act was prompted by the chronic poverty of the Crown. The king would not practise the economy of his grandfather, James V., and make royal ends meet by stocking the Crown lands with cattle; and the condition of the

[1] The king, after his mother's death, restored the rights, temporal and spiritual, of their sees, to archbishop Beaton and bishop Leslie for their fidelity to queen Mary. (Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 572). Beaton said of Leslie that he was "un homme leger et un grand parleur."

country did not warrant the modern expedient of filling an empty exchequer by taxation. Robbing the Church seemed the only alternative, but the Crown was no richer in the end, for James, in his easy good nature, beset by needy and greedy courtiers, yielded to the general scramble the last of the ecclesiastical lands. He lived to regret his share in this sacrilege, and, when a few years later he was bent on restoring Episcopacy, he stigmatised the Annexation in his *Basilikon Doron*[1] as "a vile and pernicious Act."[2]

The year 1588 was memorable for the long-threatened expedition of the Spanish Armada, which was proudly styled invincible. Troops of Jesuits and seminary priests preceded it both in England and Scotland, endeavouring to rouse the Roman Catholic nobility to make common cause with Spain in the invasion of England.[3] Overtures were made to James to permit the entrance of the fleet into Scottish harbours, as near as possible to the borders, and asking him to co-operate with the Spaniards in wresting the crown from Elizabeth. James hesitated for a moment, but his Scottish caution suggested that his own way to the throne of England did not lie through a Spanish conquest of that country.[4]

There was little need for Scotland to intermeddle. Of the hundred and thirty-four ships that sailed from Lisbon, only fifty-three returned to Spain, the rest being captured or wrecked on the coasts of Britain and Ireland. There was not the same cause for rejoicing here as in England, but the king appointed a day of thanksgiving in all the churches of his kingdom. The Assembly was busy, it could not be an idle spectator of the invasion

[1] Book ii. p. 43.
[2] Spottiswoode, ii. 376.
[3] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 484.
[4] For the claim of Philip II. of Spain to the English throne, see Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 423-425.

of the country by "papish idolaters," and sharp measures were taken with the race of Jesuits and foreign intriguers.[1] One result of the Jesuits' intrigue was the northern rebellion of Huntly and others, which was quelled by James marching at the head of his troops to Aberdeen, a remarkable achievement for a monarch who could hardly bear the sight of a naked sword.

James had now completed his twenty-third year, and his thoughts had lately turned to matrimony. A marriage was arranged with the princess Anna, daughter of the king of Denmark and Norway. The bride was to have been married in Scotland, but the storms raised by the Scottish witches, so the people believed, baffled every effort of the Danish sailors to cross the North Sea even in summer. The disappointment of the nation vented itself upon the unfortunate witches; but burning and drowning witches did not bring James's bride-elect any nearer to his bosom; and, at last, losing all patience, he ventured upon the only romance of his life and sailed for "Norroway over the foam." David Lindsay accompanied the king as chaplain, and the marriage was performed by him at Upsal (now Christiania) on the 24th November 1589. There was a long winter of feasting and drinking; and James, young as he was, could hold his own over the wine cups with any son of the Vikings. He was not a drunkard in the sense of giving way to bouts of intemperance, as was the manner of many of his countrymen, but he sotted himself with frequent imbibings which only a robust constitution could have withstood.[2]

[1] For the schemes of the Jesuits at this time, see Spottiswoode, ii. 392-398, and Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 412-417, for letters from Huntly, Hamilton, and Morton to the king of Spain on the project to establish the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.

[2] James found time to visit the celebrated Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe at Uranibourg, and to discuss predestination with the learned Hemingius.—Tytler, vii. 153.

What was probably the longest marriage feast on record had an end, and James returned with his young wife to Leith in April. She was crowned queen of Scotland in Holyrood on the 17th May. There was a difficulty about the coronation similar to that which arose on the occasion of his own coronation as a child at Stirling. The anointing which the king insisted upon was declared to be Jewish, superstitious, and popish, and the protestant ministers would have none of it. James with his natural shrewdness overcame their scruples by hinting that he would send for the bishops. "The dread of this worse profanation," says Tytler, "procured the admission of the lesser," and so the ceremony proceeded. The queen was anointed by Robert Bruce, the king's latest favourite, who had recently come into prominence as one of the ministers in Edinburgh.[1]

In the year 1590 died John Erskine of Dun, one of the leading Reformers of 1560. "He was," says Grub,[2] "one of the most estimable men of his time; steadily attached to the protestant opinions, and maintaining them consistently and courageously, he was always opposed to violent and extreme measures." He was a zealous supporter of the principle of Episcopacy, and advocated it consistently to the end of his life.

Robert Pont of St. Cuthbert's, who was the only minister permitted by the Assembly to act as senator of the College of Justice, was nominated by the king to the vacant bishopric of Caithness. The acceptance of the king's offer by Pont shows that there was a moderate party among the protestant ministers not averse to the episcopal polity. His position as a judge in the Court of Session made him less open to the charge of

[1] Calderwood, v. 67, 72; Spottiswoode, ii. 399-408; Tytler, vii. 154.

[2] *Hist.* ii. 247.

ambition, all the more that the office of bishop was now stripped of almost everything but its official character.[1]

James Melville, preaching before the Assembly that met in August 1590, claimed the victory as won for the Presbyterian cause. King James is credited, but on very slender authority, with a speech at this Assembly which, genuine or not, is in its way a curiosity. "He fell forth praising God that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the gospel, to such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva," it continues, "keepeth Pasch and Yule: what have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." Great applause is said to have greeted the royal oration; and the Assembly "praised God and prayed for the king for a quarter of an hour." The earliest authority for the speech is Scot,[2] who is copied almost verbatim by Calderwood,[3] but Spottiswoode and Melville (the preacher on the occasion and the author of "The Diary") fail to mention it. The speech is so inconsistent with James's policy before and after this date, and with his known relations to Elizabeth and the Anglican Church at that time, that its genuineness may well be questioned. The option lies between the genuineness of the speech and the sincerity of the speaker; and, truth being told, there is not much to be said for either.

[1] Calderwood, iv. 398, 615-634; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 314-322.

[2] Scot's *Apologetical Narration*, p. 57.

[3] *Hist.* v. 100-111.

The puritans, who were now giving trouble to Elizabeth in England, had many sympathisers among the ministers in Scotland. They sheltered Penry the puritan when driven from England, and prayed publicly for their persecuted English brethren. Elizabeth protested that this was "a scandal on her sincere government," and asked James to "stop the mouths or make short the tongues" of the ministers, and to banish from his land "vagabond traitors and seditious inventors." James duly complied.[1] What would have been the condition of Scotland and the fate of the ministers if not a Mary or a James but the dauntless Tudor herself had been their sovereign? There was really nothing to choose between the doctrinal platform of the English puritans and that of the Melvillian ministers. In 1589 Dr. Bancroft, in a famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross, assailed the Puritan and Presbyterian systems as the novel creation of Calvin; and at once the Scottish ministers were in arms to answer him.[2] The presbytery of Edinburgh was specially active, and drew up a memorial to queen Elizabeth "to take order with Mr. Doctor Bancroft for that infamous sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, traducing in it the whole discipline of the Church of Scotland." Probably the thought of their inconsistency in appealing to the English queen, seeing how little deference they paid to their own sovereign in matters ecclesiastical, made them withhold their protest.

Bancroft also wrote a letter to Adamson, expressing his surprise that he had not again visited the English

[1] *Calendar State Papers Scot.* ii. 579-581.

[2] Bancroft continued the controversy, and wrote two other publications whose titles are an index of their contents—"A Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline," and "Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within this Island of Britain, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline."

bishops who were ready to receive him in conference. The letter was intercepted, but even had it reached its destination the titular archbishop was not in a state of health to undertake the journey. He had again been excommunicated by the Kirk for marrying, at the request of the king, the popish earl of Huntly to a sister of the duke of Lennox; it being evidently the idea of the ministers that papists were not entitled to matrimony, except on renouncing their faith. The excommunicated man now lay on his death-bed, impoverished and neglected, as had been the fate of others—George Buchanan, for example—who had honourably served the king. "James had too much in common with those animals of the baser sort who drive the stricken brother from the herd."[1] Adamson had been lavish of his money, while he had it, in the interests of the Church; and his enemies accused him of being not less lavish of it in prelatic display. He was now left in a condition of abject poverty; for the king had shamefully withdrawn the revenues of his see to confer them upon the young duke of Lennox.[2] Broken in health and bankrupt—"put to the horn" by his creditors—his reason partially failed him. In this pitiable state he was driven to ask the help of his rival, Andrew Melville. The charity would have been twice blessed had it not been for the recantation of his episcopal principles which the dying man with shattered powers was constrained to make. Spottiswoode says that "when it was told him that such a recantation was being published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him;"[3] but all the same, the recantation was paraded before the next Assembly as the dying confession of the archbishop.[4]

[1] Burton, v. 298.
[2] Calderwood, v. 118.
[3] II. 415.
[4] Dr. Rankine, Story's ed. *Ch. of*

Adamson, who died at the close of the year 1591, did not live to see the overthrow of the episcopal polity he had striven so hard to secure for Scotland. The Assembly met on the 21st May 1592, and at once moved an address to Parliament for the repeal of the Acts of 1584—"the Black Acts." The moment was opportune; the moderator, Bruce, was for the time the favourite minister at Court, and James had special reasons for seeking at this juncture the good-will of the ministers. He was compromised by the escapades of his "mad cousin," the new earl of Bothwell,[1] and he had incurred no little odium by shielding the earl of Huntly from public indignation for his barbarous murder of "the bonnie earl of Moray"—the revenge of the third generation for the affair at Corrichie.

Parliament met in June, when four Articles from the Assembly were presented, craving, 1st, That the Acts of Parliament passed in 1584, against the discipline of the Church and liberty thereof, should be repealed, and a ratification granted of the discipline previously in use. 2nd, That the Act of Annexation should be repealed, and restitution made of the Church's patrimony. 3rd, That the abbots, priors, and other prelates bearing the titles of Churchmen, and giving voice for the Church without any commission therefrom, should cease to sit in Parliament

*Scot.* ii. 465-467, after remarking that "Archbishop Adamson is a man who has by no means had justice at the hands of Presbyterian historians and critics," adds—"The so-called Recantation which clouded his last days, in 1591, seems to have been mainly a fraudulent or semi-fraudulent trick played upon a feeble and dying man by the same triumphant persecutors, so that the shame of it is theirs and not his." Boyd, titular archbishop of Glasgow, was wiser than Adamson by taking precaution against being misrepresented after his death through any imputed confession. Dr. Gordon in his *Scotichronicon*, ii. 321-338, gives a full account of Adamson's career and numerous writings, including the elegant Latin poem, "O, Anima!" said to have been written on his death-bed. If so, he must have had lucid intervals.

[1] The sister of the notorious Bothwell had married one of the bastard sons of James V., and their son was this turbulent youth on whom James VI. had conferred his uncle's title.

or Convention. 4th, That a solid order might be taken for purging the realm of idolatry and blood wherewith it was miserably polluted.[1]

The second and third Articles were rejected without much discussion. The second suggests a foible of human nature which deserves a passing notice. The ministers had no objection to the same Acts of Annexation—the Assembly was silent—when the bishops were being robbed of the old episcopal lands; but now that they petition for the abolition of Episcopacy, the ministers follow it up with a demand for the restitution of the Church's patrimony to themselves. The fourth Article was answered by penalties against Jesuits, masses, and mass-priests, but with a lenient proviso that "if the Jesuits and seminary priests did satisfy the prince and the Church," the penalties should not be imposed. The first Article was the vital one, and the discussion on it was prolonged. Spottiswoode says the king was unwilling either to abrogate the Acts of 1584 or to grant the ratification desired of the presbyterial discipline. In the end the king gave way. The power that had been given to the bishops was expressly repealed, presentations to benefices were made subject to the control of the presbyteries, and the "full liberties, privileges, and immunities of the Church" were ratified. General Assemblies were also allowed to meet once a year, or oftener on emergency, the time and place being fixed by the king, or his commissioner, failing which by the members of Assembly.[2]

Melville had triumphed; titular Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbyterianism in an exact historic sense was, for the first time, established in Scotland. The civil rights

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 420.

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iii. 541, 542; Calderwood, v. 156-166; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 294-298; Spottiswoode, ii. 420, 421.

of the bishops and other prelates were untouched, but their ecclesiastical authority was gone. This important Act has been described as the Magna Charta of Presbyterianism, and as legalising the most essential parts of the Second Book of Discipline. As a matter of fact this Book of Discipline is not so much as alluded to in the Act, and it remains without Parliamentary sanction to this day.[1]

In closing this stage of the ecclesiastical struggle, it may be observed, first, that not much can be said for the titular episcopate, except that it was a recognition of the principle of Episcopacy. Reformers like Erskine of Dun maintained this through good and evil report; and even Knox acquiesced in the episcopate on the ground of expediency. Second, the use of a liturgy continued; the English Prayer Book in the earlier years, and Knox's Book more generally in the later; but along with both, free use of extempore prayer according to the abilities or predilections of the minister. Third, the administration of sacramental communion was by Knox's Book to be quarterly, though it probably never was so in practice. Fourth, from the absence of any mention of surplice or gown, and from the Act of Parliament, June 1609, ordering ministers to wear black gowns in pulpits, and bishops and doctors of divinity to wear black gowns, cassocks, and tippets, it would appear that no ministerial vestments were used in the ordinances of religion. The Scottish ministers protested in Knox's day against the use of vestments in the Church of England, and they did so again in the time of Adamson, which is additional evidence that in Scotland during the thirty years following the Reformation the ministers of both sections officiated in their ordinary wearing apparel. Fifth, a more serious

[1] Grub, ii. 261; Cunningham, i. 479.

defect than the disuse of vestments was the rejection of the Christian Year,—the time-honoured fast and festival of the Catholic Church, which from the days of St. Ninian and St. Columba had been largely instrumental in teaching the Scottish people the cardinal facts of man's redemption. The Church in Scotland at this time stood alone in Christendom in its renunciation of holy days and seasons, more protestant in that than even Geneva; for, as we have seen, "Geneva kept Pasch and Yule," while Scotland in her fanaticism had swept even these away.

## CHAPTER VIII

### REIGN OF JAMES VI.—FROM THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN 1592 TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS IN 1603

Presbyterians petition Parliament for the aid of the Civil Power—Romanists implicated in the "Spanish Blanks"—Persecution of Romanists—Argyll's defeat by Huntly in Glenlivet—The king and the Presbyterian ministers march against Huntly—The appeal of Jesuit Gordon to Romanists in Elgin cathedral—The ministers reprove the king and his Court—Andrew Melville's speech to the king at Falkland—Melville's second appearance at Falkland—Intemperate speeches of other ministers—Riot in Edinburgh—King removes court to Linlithgow—Seditious language of ministers—Calderwood's picture of Presbyterian Church in 1596—Meeting of Estates and of Assembly in Perth—King's proposals—Resolutions adopted—Assembly at Dundee—King's ecclesiastical commission and further resolutions in favour of Episcopacy—Assembly at Montrose in 1600 completes the scheme—King's book *Basilikon Doron* and Melville's action thereanent—The Kirk and the theatre—Gowrie conspiracy—New titular bishops—Work of Assembly at Burntisland 1601—Deaths of leading ministers—King and Court remove to London.

THE Presbyterians were now in possession, but they found it difficult to maintain their ascendency without statutory powers against their opponents. Their application to Parliament was answered by an Act in 1593 "for punishment of the contemners of the decreets and judicatories of the Kirk." The said judicatories were accordingly authorised to apply to the lords of Session or the Secret Council for letters of horning, with all their

ruinous consequences, against the contemners of the Kirk.[1]

The scare arising from the discovery of "the Spanish Blanks" further alarmed the Presbyterians, and provoked their ministers to urge the severest measures against the papists. George Ker, brother of the abbot of Newbattle, was suspected of illegal trafficking with Spain, and was captured at the isle of Cumbrae while on board a ship about to sail for the Continent. On being put to torture by the king's command, he confessed the conspiracy. Among his papers were found certain blank letters signed by the earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol.[2] The discovery irritated both king and people, and James issued a proclamation commanding all papists to depart from Edinburgh within three days on pain of death. Angus was seized in Edinburgh and imprisoned, but managed to escape from the castle. Huntly and Errol were ordered to ward themselves in St. Andrews before the 5th February 1593. The earls were not so disposed, and by the end of the month James was on his way at the head of a small force to Aberdeen. Huntly and his friends retreated to the wilds of Caithness. The protestant lords expected the forfeiture of the three earls' estates, and were already dividing the spoil. The ministers were equally urgent that no mercy should be shown them, and when James would have been lenient on grounds of policy, knowing the power of the northern earls, they declaimed against him in their pulpits and declared him to be a papist at heart.[3] Their fanaticism broke out in the following Assembly at Dundee (April 1593) where they presented four petitions to the king, demanding the extermination of the papists. Had James complied with the petitions

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iv. 16; Burton, v. 279; Tytler, vii. 168.

[2] Spottiswoode, ii. 425, 426.

[3] Calderwood, v. 251.

the result must have been a general massacre of the Roman Catholics,—a St. Bartholomew's day in Scotland.[1]

The moderation of the king gave much offence to a section of the Kirk. They sent commissioners to the Parliament which met in Edinburgh Tolbooth in July 1593 to urge his Majesty to extreme measures against the Roman Catholics; and when he still withheld his hand they railed at him in their sermons and stigmatised the Parliament as a "black Parliament in which iniquity had taken the place of equity." The synod of Fife took upon itself to excommunicate the popish nobles and gentry on the plea that they had come within its jurisdiction either from having studied at St. Andrews or married wives from Fife. The king was indignant at the presumption of the synod, and remarked that they had given him no rest until he had established their polity, and now he should find no rest until he took them in hand and reformed them.[2] Melville afterwards defended their proceedings before the king, offering to go to the gibbet if he did not prove the treasonable practices of the popish nobles against the Church and the Kingdom; upon which the king and his courtiers smiled and remarked that the minister was more zealous and choleric than wise.[3]

When James was in the south of Scotland, quelling chronic disturbances on the border, the popish earls met him at Fala, asserted their innocence of the Spanish conspiracy, and craved the right of a public trial. The question was finally remitted to a mixed committee in Edinburgh, five of the ministers being admitted to its meetings. In the month of November they gave their deliverance: (1) That the established religion should be the only

[1] See Dr. Cunningham's *Hist. Ch. Scot.* i. 515, 516.

[2] Calderwood, v. 261-263; Spottiswoode, ii. 437, 438.

[3] Calderwood, v. 288, 289, 309; Melville's *Diary*, p. 313.

religion professed by his Majesty's subjects, and that all who did not conform before 1st February 1594, must be banished the realm; (2) That the accused nobles and gentry should be exonerated from the charge of complicity in the Spanish Blanks, provided they conformed to the Presbyterian Church, banished Jesuits and other papists from their presence, avoided speaking against the established religion at their tables, received a Presbyterian minister into their houses to instruct them in religion and prepare them for signing the Confession of Faith.[1] No more tyrannical statute was ever passed than this which allowed only the cruel alternative of abandoning either creed or country, and no more intolerable system of espionage can well be conceived than quartering upon Roman Catholic households the ministers of a hated and hostile religion.[2]

Some little relief from polemical strife was afforded by the national rejoicings over the birth of a prince on the 19th February 1594. He was baptized, six months afterwards, in the chapel royal at Stirling, by the name of Frederick Henry, the sacrament being administered by Cunningham, titular bishop of Aberdeen, in spite of the vigorous protest of the presbytery of Edinburgh.[3]

The troubles with the northern earls were not yet ended. The youthful earl of Argyll volunteered to raise the western clans and march northwards to chastise his powerful rival, Huntly. From Lorn and Lochaber the Highlanders mustered, to the number of ten thousand, and marched across the water-shed of the Spey and down its banks until they met Huntly with a much smaller force in Glenlivet. A battle was fought on the 4th October, which resulted in the rout of Argyll's undisciplined rabble.

[1] Calderwood, v. 284; Spottiswoode, ii. 443-445.

[2] Burton, *Hist.* v. 303; Cunningham, *Ch. Hist. Scot.* i. 523.

[3] Calderwood, v. 343-346; Spottiswoode, ii. 455, 466.

Argyll carried the news of his defeat to the king in Dundee, and James hastened his preparations for another northern campaign. He invited the two Melvilles and some other ministers to accompany him and witness his zeal against the popish earls. The ministers, we read, "cased themselves in corselets and marched with the host." Mediæval bishops delighted in donning a coat of mail; but few would recognise Andrew Melville clad in carnal armour, though it seems to have been nothing unusual with him and others of his brethren.[1] The ministers had to aid the would-be martial monarch in other ways. His exchequer was exhausted, and the presbytery of Edinburgh supplied him with the sinews of war.[2] In this respect both belligerents were on an equal footing, as pope Clement VIII. had sent considerable sums to support Huntly and Errol.[3] James pushed on to Strathbogie Castle, the stronghold of Huntly, but the earl, now marquis, had retreated as formerly to Caithness. The castles of Strathbogie, Slains, and other places, were levelled to the ground. Father Gordon, a Jesuit and the uncle of Huntly, attempted to rally the northern Romanists once more, and met them in Elgin, where the last mass was celebrated in the cathedral in the spring of 1595. The Jesuit implored them from the pulpit to make one more stand for their holy religion, but the nobles had lost heart, and both Huntly and Errol presently left Scotland for the Continent.[4]

James returned from the camp to find troubles in the Court. The queen was dissatisfied that the earl of Mar instead of herself should have the keeping of the infant prince. Her displeasure led to estrangement between the royal consorts, and it taxed all the efforts of the ministers

[1] Melville's *Diary*, p. 214.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 214-216.
[3] Bellesheim, iii. 323, and Appendix IV. p. 449.
[4] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 318, 319; Tytler, vii. 288.

to reconcile them. Their fussy interference with the Court life at Holyrood also added to the prevalent irritation. They sent a deputation to the king to confer with him on his own sins and the sins of his household; and in a schedule of complaints they referred specially to the late hours and balls of the queen and her gentlewomen.[1] James resented the intermeddling of the ministers, but he kept his temper and returned the soft answer, that if they had occasion to rebuke him they would please do it in private and not from their pulpits.

In August 1596 there was a meeting of the Estates at Falkland, to discuss the recalling of Huntly and the other exiled lords. A deputation of ministers was sent, and Melville, though not a member of it, went with them. James sought to exclude him, but he was irrepressible. His speech on the occasion is a good sample of Melville's manner. "Sir," he said to the king, "I have a calling to come here by Christ Jesus the King and His Kirk, who has special interest in this business, and against which directly this convention is met; charging you and your Estates in His name, and of His Kirk, that you favour not His enemies whom He hates, nor go about to call home and make citizens those that have traitorously sought to betray their city and native country to the cruel Spaniard, with the overthrow of Christ's kingdom, for the which they have been therefore most justly cut off as rotten members; certifying, if they should do in the contrary, they should feel the dint of the wrath of that King and His Estates." There was more to the same effect. The whole speech is flavoured with such assumption of a special knowledge of Christ's mind, and of his own assured infallibility, that no papal bull could exceed it in arrogance. The king ordered Melville's departure from

[1] Calderwood, v. 459; Burton, v. 304, 305.

the Council; and he at length obeyed, "thanking God that they had known his mind and got His message discharged."[1]

In the following September the Assembly met at Cupar, in Fife. It was but a few miles from Falkland, where the king was residing, and a deputation, consisting of the two Melvilles and two other ministers, favoured him with a visit. The younger Melville, who was minister of Anstruther, being a man of smoother tongue than his uncle, was made spokesman. The king quickly interrupted him, saying that the meeting at Cupar was without warrant and seditious. What followed had better be described in the words of the reporter, James Melville: "I, beginning to reply in my manner, Mr. Andrew (Melville) could not abide it, but broke off upon the king in so zealous, powerful, and unresistible a manner that howbeit the king used his authority in most crabbed and choleric manner, yet Mr. Andrew bore him down and uttered the commission as from the mighty God, calling the king but 'God's silly vassal'; and taking him by the sleeve says this in effect through much hot reasoning and many interruptions, 'Sir, we will humbly reverence your majesty always—namely, in public. But since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and the truth is, you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and with you the country and Kirk of Christ is like to wreck for not telling you the truth and giving of you a faithful counsel,—we must discharge our duty therein or else be traitors both to Christ and you. And therefore, sir, as divers times before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject king James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. And

[1] Melville's *Diary*, p. 368.

they whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over His Kirk and govern His spiritual Kingdom, have sufficient power of Him and authority so to do both together and severally; the which no Christian king nor prince should control and discharge but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not faithful subjects nor members of Christ.'"[1]

The Falkland scene is a favourite subject with historians, and Melville is lauded by some of them for his courage and faithfulness. It is doubtful how far his principles would be accepted by any church or party to-day, or how far they could be tolerated by any Government that respected itself, and had due regard to the rights and liberties of its subjects. Little courage was needed to browbeat a youth, who, though a king, was politically all but powerless; and the affair at Falkland dwindles into an exhibition of bad temper on Melville's part.[2] It was different with the king when seated on the throne by the Thames; the "silly vassal" could then be as arbitrary and tyrannical as Melville himself, and pay the minister back in his own coin.

The speech and bearing of Melville, as leader of the extreme Presbyterians, had its influence upon his followers, and bred many imitators. James frequently complained to the Church courts of the ministers' language, but got no redress. Their theory of spiritual independence, and their fondness of polemics in the pulpit, disposed them readily to exculpate the brethren charged with the use of intemperate language towards the king or the Court. In 1594, John Ross, a minister in Perth, had denounced the king before the provincial synod as a traitor, a reprobate, and a dissembling hypocrite. His language was reported to the Assembly, where Ross defended it, and his only

[1] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 369, 370. [2] Buckle, *Hist. Civ.* iii. 110.

punishment was an admonition to be more cautious.[1] Ross was outstripped in vituperation by David Black, minister of St. Andrews, whom Tytler describes as "a fierce puritan." In a sermon, preached in October 1596, he denounced queen Elizabeth as an atheist, and the religion of her kingdom as an empty show, charged king James with manifest treachery, asserted that Satan was the head both of his Court and his Council, that all kings were the devil's bairns, that the lords of Session were miscreants and bribe-receivers, the nobility cormorants, and the queen of Scotland a woman whom, for fashion's sake, they might pray for, but in whose time it was vain to hope for good.[2]

The best defence for Black would be to say that he was a fanatic, and hardly responsible for his language. But this defence would not clear the permanent commission of the Kirk sitting in Edinburgh which warmly espoused his cause. Bowes, the English ambassador, remonstrated against the insult offered to his mistress. The maligning minister when brought before the Privy Council declined its judicature, and was supported by the standing committee of the Kirk which sent papers to every presbytery for signature in his defence. This action provoked a proclamation from the king, declaring their meetings illegal, and commanding them to leave the capital within twenty-four hours. They instantly convened, and, in the language of their own historian, "laid their letters open before the Lord." At first they meditated resistance, but more prudent counsels prevailed. The king was equally anxious to avoid a rupture, and sent for some of the ministers, pending the trial, to whom he

[1] *History of James Sext*, pp. 315, 324; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 409, 410.

[2] MS. State Paper Office, cited by Tytler, vii. 326.

said: "This licentious manner of treating of affairs of State in the pulpit cannot be tolerated. My claim is only to judge in matters of sedition and other civil and criminal causes, and of speeches that may import such crimes, wheresoever they may be uttered—in the pulpit or elsewhere; for surely if treason and sedition be crimes, much more are they so if committed in the pulpit where the Word of Truth alone should be taught and heard."[1] The king was reasonable, but Black remained obdurate. The Council found him guilty of language seditious and slanderous, and he was banished beyond the North Water.[2]

The troubles in Edinburgh did not end here. It was falsely reported that the returned marquis of Huntly had been closeted with the king, and the report set the Kirk in a blaze. The minister Balcanqual next day attacked the Court in his sermon in St. Giles', and begged the lords and gentlemen present to meet in the little kirk (the chancel). A deputation waited on the king in the Tolbooth, and he was in no good humour at their interruption. "Who dares," he asked, "to convene contrary to my proclamation?" "Dares!" retorted lord Lindsay fiercely, "we dare more than that; and shall not suffer the truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by." The result was a riot, during which James in terror retreated downstairs into the lower house where the judges were in session, and commanded the doors to be shut. The deputation returned to St. Giles' where they found a minister reading to an excited multitude the story of Haman and Mordecai. Shouts were raised to attack the doors of the Tolbooth, and bring out the wicked Haman; others cried out "The sword of the Lord and of

[1] Calderwood, v. 460, 468; Spottiswoode, ii. 423.

[2] The North Esk that divides Angus from Mearns.

Gideon," and a voice, louder than any exclaimed, "Armour, armour, save yourselves." The Tolbooth was attacked, but the provost appeared and with some difficulty appeased the angry mob.[1] Some hours afterwards the king, protected by the magistrates, slipped quietly down the streets to Holyrood. Next day the Court at an early hour removed to Linlithgow, and immediately after its departure a proclamation was read by a herald at the cross condemning the ministers for exciting the citizens to sedition, and threatening to remove at once the lords of session and every officer of justice from the town of Edinburgh, and so degrade it from its status as capital of the kingdom. The proclamation spread consternation among the craftsmen and burgesses of the city, who regarded it as the ruin of their interests. Robert Bruce, the minister, now no longer the king's favourite but his bitterest enemy, improved the occasion by haranguing the people upon "the manifest usurpation intended against Christ's kingdom."[2]

The experience of this riot impressed the king with an indelible sense of the fanaticism and disloyalty of the extreme Presbyterians. This impression was confirmed by one or two subsequent events. Welch, the minister, a son-in-law of John Knox, and imbued with the Reformer's teaching, described the king in a sermon as having been possessed with a devil, and told how this devil had gone out and seven worse spirits come in. He declared that it was lawful for his subjects to take the sword out of his hand; just as a father of a family, afflicted with insanity, might be seized and bound by his children. It was the same language and illustration, which Knox had used

[1] Burton (v. 311), calls this riot "the oldest specimen of a 'No Popery' mob."

[2] Spottiswoode, iii. 27-33; Calderwood, v. 366; Tytler, vii. 334-340.

to queen Mary. Spottiswoode calls it "a most execrable doctrine," but he says it was accepted by many of the preacher's hearers as "a sound and free application."[1]

Of graver import than Welch's seditious sermon was a cabal of the ministers to induce lord Hamilton, the next heir to the throne after prince Henry, to become the leader of the disaffected ministers and nobles. They sent him a letter inviting him to meet them in Edinburgh for this object. Hamilton showed the letter to the king, who was justly incensed by this fresh incitement to rebellion. He ordered the ministers to be arrested, but they fled to Newcastle; he declared the late tumult in the capital to be treason, and held the magistrates responsible for it; he ordered the judicatories to be removed to Leith, and the Court of Session to Perth. The citizens in their alarm sent a deputation to James at Linlithgow, but his only answer was that he intended holding a meeting of the Estates "in the same place where the dishonour was done unto him, and would follow their advice both in the trial and punishment."[2]

So ended the year 1596, the year that Calderwood eulogises as the period of the Church's greatest perfection and beauty. "The Church of Scotland," he writes, "was now come to her perfection, and the greatest purity that she ever attained unto, both in doctrine and discipline, so that her beauty was admirable unto foreign Churches. The assemblies of the saints were never so glorious nor profitable to every one of the true members thereof, as in the beginning of this year."[3] Calderwood's own pages show another side of the picture. A committee of the Assembly report "an universal coldness and decay of zeal in all estates, joined with ignorance, and contempt of the Word,

[1] *Hist.* iii. 34. [2] Spottiswoode, iii. 34-36.
[3] Calderwood, v. 387.

ministry, and sacraments, few religious exercises in the family, and the same profaned by cooks, stewards, jackmen, and such like; superstition and idolatry, great blasphemy with horrible banning and cursing, profanation of the Sabbath by the exercise of wanton games, markets, dicing, drinking, whoredoms, bloodsheds, etc.; and the country infested with gangs of idle persons having no lawful callings, as pipers, fiddlers, songsters, sorners, sturdy beggars, living in harlotry, and altogether contemning Word and sacraments."[1]

The reference in the same document to "the corruptions and enormities of the ministry and the remedy thereof," points to little if any improvement on the clerical morals of the pre-Reformation period. "The too sudden admission and light trial of persons to the ministry" is made responsible for much of the evil. The discipline suggested by the Assembly's committee recalls the futile efforts of Provincial Councils to reform the Roman priesthood; and, as Burton remarks,[2] "it is not calculated to give an impression that the bulk of the clergy were either very high-minded or very pure." It proposes that such ministers as are "light and wanton in their behaviour—as in gorgeous or light apparel, in speech, in using light and profane company, unlawful gaming, as dancing, carding, dicing, and such like, not beseeming the gravity of ane pastor—be sharply rebuked by the presbytery; and if continuing therein after due admonition, that he be deprived as slanderous to the Gospel. That ministers being found swearers or banners, profaners of the Sabbath-day, drunkards, fighters, guilty of all these or any of them, be deposed *simpliciter;* and such like liars, detractors, brawlers and quarrellers, after due admonition, as continue

[1] Calderwood, v. 387, 388. See also Row, pp. 172, 173.

[2] *History of Scotland*, v. 306.

therein, incur the same punishment. That ministers given to unlawful and incompetent trades for filthy gain,—as holding of hostelries, taking of usury, bearing worldly offices in noble and gentle-men's houses, merchandise and buying of victual and keeping it to dearth, etc., be admonished and brought to the acknowledgment of their faults; and if they continue therein, to be deposed."[1] Calderwood's ideal of "perfection and of greatest purity and beauty" may have existed in his own devout imagination; it certainly did not exist in the Church of Scotland in 1596.[2]

The king returned to Edinburgh on the 1st January 1597, and received a loyal welcome from the citizens, which somewhat atoned for the summer's disloyalty. Steps were at once taken for meetings of the Estates and of the Church, both to be held in Perth on the last day of February. Perth was chosen, as more central than Edinburgh, to allow the northern ministers to attend, and James evidently calculated upon their support in favour of the ecclesiastical polity he was now bent upon introducing. The two chief centres of ultra-Presbyterianism were the synod of Fife and the presbytery of Edinburgh. Its predominance in the former district is accounted for by the influence of the two Melvilles, and in the latter by the wise policy of the leaders in always selecting their strongest men for the capital. From the days of Knox, the Edinburgh pulpits had been filled by the ablest preachers and debaters in the Kirk; and as most of the Assemblies had been held in Edinburgh, or in other southland towns, they had hitherto taken their complexion very much from the Fife and Lothian leaders. There was equity as well as policy in James's selection of Perth,

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 428, 429; Calderwood, v. 408-411.

[2] See Grub, ii. 269.

and the repeated accusations of kingcraft, and of an attempt to overpower the southern vote by the northern in this Perth Assembly, are not consistent in writers who are always advocating free and open debates, and the moral weight of majorities.[1]

Prior to the meeting James had prepared and widely circulated a paper with fifty-five questions on the different subjects to be discussed. They included the external government of the Church, the election of pastors, with the relative rights of patrons and people, the principle of ordination, the privileges of the pulpit, the right of calling the Assembly, the question of excommunication, and the civil rights of the subject—whether these could be infringed by the ecclesiastical courts without power of the magistrate to interfere.[2]

Preparations were made on both sides for the battle at Perth. The synod of Fife met at St. Andrews, on 21st February, and answered the royal questions by anticipation. Sir Patrick Murray, as commissioner, was equally busy on the king's side among the northland ministers; and James Melville honoured him with the ironical title of "Apostle of the North." There was a geographical jealousy between north and south; and "the popes of Edinburgh," as the northern ministers called their brethren in the capital, were in little favour beyond the Tay.

When the meeting was convened the question was debated whether it was a lawful Assembly; and it was decided by the votes of eleven presbyteries to eight that it should be recognised as a special General Assembly—

[1] Burton, *Hist.* v. 313, says the choice of Perth "was a thoroughly wise measure; for no one could complain that the spot was partially chosen, since no other considerable town is so unmistakably in the centre of Scotland."

[2] Spottiswoode, iii. 41-45.

the members from Fife dissenting and protesting. The king then laid before the Assembly for its consideration thirteen articles embodying the main points in his previous questions. After considerable discussion it was agreed—That his majesty should have power to introduce for debate in the Assembly any matter affecting the external government of the Church; that ministers should not meddle in the pulpit with affairs of State, nor attack persons by name in the pulpit; that each presbytery take diligent account of the doctrinal teaching of its ministers; that no more summary excommunications be permitted; that no session, presbytery, or synod censure people outside of their own bounds; that no conventions of ministers take place without the king's consent, except the ordinary sessions, presbyteries, and synods; that in the principal burghs no ministers be placed without the consent of the king and the congregation, and this order to take effect presently in Edinburgh. Commissioners were then appointed to receive Huntly and the other popish lords into the Church; and, lastly, an overture was made to the king for reconciliation with the citizens of Edinburgh touching last year's riot. James had not forgotten it, nor had he forgiven the ministers who, he now repeated, were the main cause of it; but having had so much of his own way in the Assembly, he was in royal good humour, and agreed that Robert Bruce and his friends should return to Edinburgh on their finding security for obedience to the law.[1]

These resolutions were chiefly aimed at prevalent abuses introduced by the ministers, who were as autocratic in their public censures of king, lords, and commoners as if they had been the oldest hierarchy in Christendom.

[1] Calderwood, v. 606-622; Spottiswoode, iii. 48-55; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 439-449; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 403-410.

Their pulpit vituperations and summary excommunications had become an intolerable tyranny, destructive alike of the civil and of the religious liberty of the people.

The king was so highly pleased with the success of the Perth Assembly that he summoned another to meet in Dundee on the 10th May of the same year. Robert Rollock, first principal of the University which had been founded in Edinburgh in 1583, presided over it as moderator. He was a scholarly man, as modest as he was learned, but, unhappily for the Church and for learning, his life was short.[1] Huntly, Errol, and Angus were present in the Assembly to be purged of their offences against the reformed religion, and to be absolved from the censures of the Church. The Assembly at Perth was declared to be a lawful Assembly, and its proceedings were ratified; imposition of hands in the ordaining of ministers was decreed for all time coming, and a commission of ministers was appointed to consult with the king on all matters ecclesiastical.[2] This resolution, as well as some others, was stoutly opposed by the Melville section, who foresaw the use that might be made of it in moulding the Church's polity after the royal pattern; but they apparently could not see that the proposed commission was an exact copy of their own standing committee of which they had made such effective use in previous years. James was present at the ninth session, and made a speech—speechifying was his favourite pastime—which gave much satisfaction to the Assembly, for he promised them a minister for

[1] Rollock died in February 1599. For an account of him see Dalziel's *Hist. Univ. Ed.* ii. 30-39.

[2] The First Book of Discipline discarded the imposition of hands in ordination; the Second Book brought it back, but still the neglect of it must have been common. It is a remarkable fact that Melville himself, the father of Presbyterianism, was never ordained, and that Bruce only submitted to it under the threat of deprivation. See Cunningham, i. 549.

every kirk, and a stipend for every minister. Amid the enthusiasm elicited by the royal speech the commission was appointed, comprising fourteen of the leading ministers, including James Melville, but excluding Andrew [who was altogether too impracticable for the king. Calderwood characterises the commission as "the king's led horse—a wedge taken out of the Church to rend her with her own forces, and the very needle which drew in the thread of bishops."[1]

On the 26th June 1597, the two earls, Huntly and Errol, recanted their popish errors, and were received into the Protestant fold in the old church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen.[2] Judging from the subsequent conduct of the earls, their action on this occasion must have been deeply hypocritical. "They made an open confession of their defection and apostasy, affirmed the religion presently confessed to be the only true religion, renounced all papistry, and swore never to decline again, but to defend the same to their life's end."[3] The excommunications were recalled, the earls were feasted by the Aberdeen corporation, and their forfeiture was revoked by the Estates in the following November. But this was not an end of the business.

James was still bent upon completing his ecclesiastical polity. In the Parliament of November (1597) a significant Act was passed providing that any minister appointed by the king to the office of bishop or abbot should sit and vote in Parliament "as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had in any time bygone."[4] There was opposition to the proposal from members of the prelatic order already in

[1] Calderwood, v. 644; Spottiswoode, iii. 58-60; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 450-463.

[2] Representations were made from the pope to the king about this time in behalf of liberty of conscience. —Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 610.

[3] *Analectica Scotica*, p. 300, cited by Burton, v. 295, 296.

[4] *Acts Parl. Scot.* iv. 130.

possession of seats, but more serious opposition was offered in the Assembly held at Dundee in March 1598. Melville had denounced the proposal in the synod of Fife, and he crossed the Tay to oppose it in the Assembly. Here, for once, he was outmanœuvred. At a recent visitation of the University of St. Andrews, it had been agreed that its corporation should be represented by three members, and Melville was not one of the number. The king was present, and challenged his right to sit in the Assembly, and the great dictator had to withdraw. So "the slinger-out of bishops" was himself slung out of his favourite field,—the Assembly. His party was well represented by Bruce, Davidson, and James Melville, who argued on the one side against Buchanan, Gladstanes, and Pont on the other. The king was always interposing and making his pragmatical speeches—"I wish not," he said, "to bring in papistical or anglican bishops; but only to have the best and wisest of the ministry appointed by the General Assembly, to have place in Council and Parliament, to sit upon their own matters and see them done, and not to stand always at the door, like poor suppliants despised and nothing regarded." It was very plausible, but it did not deceive the opponents of the measure. Ferguson of Dunfermline, now one of the oldest ministers, compared the king's stratagem to the classical wooden horse which the Greeks imposed by craft upon the Trojans; and Davidson declared that they might "busk and busk the minister as bonnily as they could, and bring him in as fairly as they would; but we," he said, "see him weel eneuch—we see the horns of his mitre." In the end, it was settled by a majority of ten that fifty-one ministers, the same number as was returned from the old hierarchy, should have seats in Parliament. There was a historical nemesis in Dundee being the place where Episcopacy

was again ratified, seeing that in 1580 Episcopacy had met its overthrow in Dundee.[1]

In the year 1600, at an Assembly in Montrose, the Church completed this parliamentary representation by agreeing to provide the king with a leet of six ministers from which he was to choose one for each vacancy as it occurred. Various "caveats" or restrictions were framed to prevent any abuse of the representatives' powers. They were to act in Parliament according to the directions of the Assembly, to be subject like other ministers to its authority, to devolve their commission annually to the Assembly, and they were not to be called bishops, a name still of evil omen, but commissioners. "And thus," says Calderwood, "the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in busked and covered with *caveats*, that the danger and deformity might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many and opposed unto."[2]

James had now his triumph over Melville, and he thought to win another over Bruce. When the minister was in high favour at Court the king had given him a rich pension for life from the abbacy of Arbroath. He now sought to recall it, and when sued by Bruce in the Court of Session he attempted to browbeat the court, for which he was severely reprimanded by the lord president Seton. The decision was in Bruce's favour; and a contemporary letter says that "the mortified monarch thereupon flung out of court, muttering revenge, and raging marvellously."[3]

For some years the king had been dabbling in literature of various kinds, including poesy and demonology. In 1598 he produced his *Law of Free Monarchies*,

[1] Calderwood, v. 668-670, 680-696; Spottiswoode, iii. 67-69; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 436, 437.

[2] Calderwood, vi. 1-26; Spottiswoode, iii. 82; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 477-490.

[3] MS. letter cited by Tytler, vii. 377.

which was regarded as a bid for the English throne; and next year it was followed by a more ambitious work *Basilikon Doron*, in the shape of instructions to his son, prince Henry.[1] Only a few copies in MS. were circulated privately among friends, and one of them surreptitiously came into Melville's hands. It was brought before the synod of Fife as an anonymous work that the author might be more freely handled as a defamer of the Kirk. "The synod judged them (the writings) treasonable, seditious, and wicked, thinking that such things should not be, and directed them to the king."[2] There were grounds for the synod's displeasure, all the more that much of the king's criticism was true. He describes the ministers as "fiery and seditious spirits who delighted to rule as *Tribuni Plebis*"; accuses them of having been the wreck of two queens, and of having placed themselves during a long minority at the head of every faction which had weakened and distracted the country. He warns prince Henry against both them and their fanaticism—"Take heed, therefore, my son, to such puritans, very pests in the Church and Commonweal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason; and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God—and since I am here as upon my testimony, it is no place for me to lie in—that ye shall never find with any Highland or border thieves greater ingratitude and more lies, and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits."[3] The action taken by the synod of Fife obliged the king to publish the book soon afterwards. It was well received in Eng-

[1] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 613, 614.

[2] Melville's *Diary*, p. 444.

[3] *Basilikon Doron*, book ii. p. 160.

land, and its people looked forward hopefully to the advent of so learned a monarch to their throne. In Scotland its publication was followed by a rigorous fast of two days which the Kirk imposed on the people for the backslidings of their king.[1]

A company of English comedians under Fletcher and Martin next set the king and Kirk at variance. Fletcher had been in Scotland in 1594, and James, who was a lover of the drama, invited his return in 1599. The ministers at once took alarm, and condemned the mummeries of the stage as only less detestable than the mass itself. The magistrates, acting at the dictation of the ministers, had prohibited the inhabitants by proclamation from visiting the theatre. But James was not to be baffled by magistrate or minister. He summoned the provost and councillors, and compelled them to recall their proclamation by sound of trumpet; he summoned the four kirk sessions and insisted that the ministers should, next Sunday, announce from the pulpit that the king's subjects were to be open to no censure by visiting the theatre, "seeing that," as the royal edict ran, "we are not of purpose or intention to authorise anything which is profane or may carry any offence."[2]

The Gowrie conspiracy fills a painful page in Scottish history. The young earl of Gowrie returned to Scotland in May 1600 from the Continent where he had lived for some years, spending the last three months with Beza at Geneva. On his return through England he visited the Court of Elizabeth, and had frequent confidential interviews with her Majesty, which are supposed to have influenced his after conduct. The earl's younger brother, Alexander

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 80, 81; Tytler, vii. 381-383.

[2] Tytler, vii. 386, 387; Spottiswoode, iii. 81. It has been conjectured that Shakespeare was a member of this dramatic company, but the belief rests on no sufficient grounds.

Ruthven, on Tuesday, 5th August, decoyed king James from Falkland to his brother's house in Perth, under the pretence that he wished the king to examine a man of suspicious character, whom he professed to have discovered the night before, having under his cloak a pot filled with valuable foreign gold. James went, with whatever motive he may be credited; but instead of a man with gold he found awaiting him a man in armour. Young Ruthven followed the king into the room and threatened his life in revenge for his own father's death. James called for help from the window, and in the scuffle which ensued both Ruthven and his brother, the earl, were fatally stabbed.[1] Perhaps the worst part of the king's conduct in the business was the vindictive spirit in which he threatened the younger and innocent members of the Gowrie family, who happily saved themselves by flight to Berwick. It is now generally believed that the object of Gowrie was not to murder but to kidnap the king, as his father had done, and administer the kingdom in his name with the aid of Elizabeth. James, in gratitude for his escape, changed the weekly preachings in Edinburgh from Friday to Tuesday, and marked the 5th of August in his calendar as a festival. Gowrie was an ardent Protestant, and had brought with him from the Continent glowing commendations of his orthodoxy, a fact which weighed with the Edinburgh ministers in discrediting the king's version of the conspiracy. His attempts to convince them make amusing reading. The ministers remained sceptical, and the once favourite Bruce paid for his obduracy by being again banished from the capital —this time to France.[2]

[1] Teulet, *R. P.* iv. 229.

[2] Teulet, *Papiers*, etc. iii. 618-623; Spottiswoode, iii. 84-91; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, p. 526; Burton, v. 316-352; Tytler, vii. 391-431. Bruce returned, and had an interview with the king at Holyrood on the morning of his start for London, 1603.

James never slackened his hand in pushing forward the restoration of Episcopacy. The three sees of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness, were filled in 1600 by bishops, still titular. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, was appointed to Ross, and made no protestations now against Episcopacy. Lindsay had ministered at Leith since the Reformation, and the diocese of Ross probably saw little of his presence. He had the honour of baptizing at Holyrood the king's third child, "baby Charles," who was born on the 19th November 1600 at Dunfermline. It was reckoned a bad omen that the little prince was too delicate in health to accompany the royal family to England in 1603.

The last Assembly at which James was present was held in May 1601 at Burntisland. The moderator, Hall, addressed the Assembly upon the general defection from the purity and practice of true religion, which he said was so great that it must of necessity conclude either in popery or atheism, unless a substantial and timely remedy were provided. The evils were then described, and the last two Sundays in June appointed as days of humiliation and fasting. After filling the vacancies in the Edinburgh ministry, the Assembly entered upon a new field—the revision of the Church's sacred books. James suggested a new translation of the Bible and the revision of the "Psalm-Book"—Knox's Liturgy—and surprised as much as he delighted the ministers by a speech which showed no mean acquaintance with the subject. A committee was appointed, and Pont was made preses, but nothing came of the proposal. In a few years the king was in England, and from the divines of that country came the "Authorised Version" of the Bible. The fate of Knox's and of other liturgies in Scotland remains to be told.[1]

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 96-99; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 497, 498.

Before the close of the century many of the actors on both sides of the Reformation struggle had passed away. Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, died in 1593; William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, in 1594; and a better man than either, John Leslie, bishop of Ross, the faithful friend of queen Mary, died at Brussels in 1596; David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, in 1598; and Principal Rollock, of Edinburgh, in the prime of life, in 1599. John Craig, once Knox's colleague, who began clerical life as a Dominican friar, died in 1600; and John Durie, Melville's faithful supporter, whose early years were spent as a Benedictine monk in Dunfermline, died in the same year. The last Roman archbishop of Glasgow, James Beaton, died in Paris on the 24th April 1603, while king James was on his way to the English throne. Beaton was a munificent benefactor of the Scots College, Paris, founded by an earlier Scottish bishop; and to the college he bequeathed the chartularies of his diocese, which he took with him on his flight from Glasgow in 1560.[1]

Queen Elizabeth died 24th March 1603, and on the 5th April James began his journey to London. On the Sunday preceding he attended service at St. Giles' church, and after sermon addressed the congregation in his characteristic way. He assured them that his inheritance of the throne of England would not diminish his love for the Scottish people. "There is no more difference," he said, "betwixt London and Edinburgh than betwixt Inverness or Aberdeen and Edinburgh; for all our marches are dry, and there be ferries betwixt them. But my course must be to establish peace, and religion,

[1] The Glasgow Chartulary has been edited by Cosmo Innes. See also Father Thomas Innes, *Crit. Essay*, pp. 579, 580; Spottiswoode, iii. 139, 140; Mackenzie's *Lives*, iii. 466.

and wealth betwixt both countries; and as God has joined the right of both kingdoms in my person, so may you be joined in wealth, in religion, in heart, and affections." He made a promise to revisit Scotland every three years at the least, which, like many other royal promises, was not kept.[1] James and his consort were crowned in Westminster Abbey on 25th July, and the Scottish royal line was thus enthroned on the fated stool of destiny, the Liafail, stolen by Edward I. from Scone. The union which that monarch had striven to accomplish by war and conquest was brought about peaceably, and Scotland and England, much to the satisfaction and the advantage of both nations, became united under one king, though not as yet into one kingdom.

[1] Calderwood, vi. 216.

# CHAPTER IX

## JAMES VI.—FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE ENGLISH THRONE 1603 TO THE RESTORATION OF THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN SCOTLAND 1610

English puritans' "Millenary Petition"—Conference at Hampton Court—More titular bishops, Spottiswoode for Glasgow—Disputed Assembly at Aberdeen—Imprisonment of ministers—Parliament at Perth repeals Annexation Act—Prelatic pride in Perth—King sends for titular bishops and Presbyterian ministers—Andrew Melville's behaviour—Melville at Whitehall—Tyranny of king to Melville and his friends—Melville's imprisonment in the Tower and exile in Sedan—Banishment of six ministers—Assembly at Linlithgow 1606—Parliament orders Chapter for St. Andrews—Persecution of Romanists—Consistorial Courts and two courts of High Commission restored—Decline of Presbyterianism—Gradation of Church courts—Episcopacy restored by Glasgow Assembly of 1610—Eleven Articles accepted—Imprisonment of Huntly, Angus, and Errol as papists—Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton in London—King's object to have them consecrated—Their consecration in London.

THE English puritans met king James on his way to London and presented him with the "Millenary Petition." The petitioners professed to be "groaning under a burden of human rites and ceremonies," such as the cap and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the use of the ring in marriage, and the ordinance of confirmation. As James was coming from a country where Presbyterianism had been lately established, they fully expected him to deliver them from these "burdens," and probably to relieve them also of the Anglican hierarchy and liturgy.

Row narrates the steps that were taken in Scotland by anticipation "for the effectuating of that good purpose of reducing England to Presbyterial government."[1]

With the object of conciliating the puritans a conference was held at Hampton Court, on the 14th January 1604. It gave James an opportunity, in which he greatly delighted, of displaying his classical scholarship and his Scottish theology among learned divines who would not, as he said, brave him like the overbearing ministers in the Assembly. In the conference nine bishops, seven deans, and one archdeacon represented the Anglican Church, and four ministers appeared for the puritans. The session lasted three days, and, on the first, the king made an oration in marked contrast to that which is said to have evoked the fervid applause and prayer of the northern Assembly. He said "that he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face." That was true, but the difference was by no means to the credit of the English bishops, who comported themselves towards the king with a servile adulation which argued a want of manliness or of sincerity.[2]

On the second day the puritans were admitted, and Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, one of the Scottish leaders, was also present to watch the proceedings in the interests of the northern Church. Dr. Reynolds of Cambridge, a learned puritan, stated the case against the Anglican ceremonies, and the king answered that he would not argue with him as to things indifferent, as they were part of his royal prerogative. "I will have

[1] *History of the Kirk*, pp. 220-221.

[2] Neal's *Hist. of Puritans*, i. 410-414.

one doctrine," he said, "one discipline, one religion, in substance and ceremony; therefore never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey." On their demand for periodical meetings, "his majesty was somewhat stirred, thinking that they aimed at a Scottish presbytery, 'which,' saith he, 'as well agreeth with monarchy as God and the devil; then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my Council. I remember how they used the poor lady my mother in Scotland, and me in my minority.'" Then, turning to the bishops, and touching his hat, he added: "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for *no bishop, no king*." [1]

The third day was occupied in conference chiefly with the Anglican prelates, and so gratified were they with the wisdom of the Scottish Solomon, that Whitgift, the aged primate of Canterbury, professed to the king: "Your majesty undoubtedly speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit." James was evidently of the same opinion, judging from a boastful letter he sent to Scotland, magnifying his polemical victory. "They fled me so," he wrote, "from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, that I was forced to tell them that if any of them when boys had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied the rod to their buttocks." The Scottish Presbyterians were much interested in the results of the conference, and when Galloway sent his written report, revised by the king, to the presbytery of Edinburgh, their worst fears were confirmed. James Melville was present at their meeting, and exhorted them that, "as the presbytery of

[1] Neal's *Hist. Puritans*, i. 414-417.

Edinburgh had ever been as the Sion and watch-tower of their Kirk, and the ministers thereof the chief watchmen, so it behoved them to watch that no peril or contagion came from their neighbour Kirk."[1]

In the Convocation of Canterbury, which met in March following, it was provided by canon that prayers should be offered in all congregations "for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." It has been disputed whether this was intended for the Scottish Church as it then was, or for the Church as it was about to become. Something might be said for both views, if the subject were worth discussion. Presbytery nominally held the field as by law established; but the titular bishops were still in evidence, and it was now an open secret that the king meant to establish Episcopacy.[2]

One result of the Hampton Court conference deserves to be recalled with gratitude by all the English-speaking race. It was here that the scheme was projected for a new translation of the Bible, which was issued in the year 1611, and came to be known as the Authorised Version. Since then it has been the recognised standard not only of religion but of the English language. James has to be credited with the initiative of this good work, for "his majesty wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation, professing that he had never yet seen a Bible well translated into English."[3]

Several appointments were made about this time of titular bishops to vacant Scottish sees. On the death of

[1] Cardwell, *History of Conference*, pp. 185, and 212-217; Neal, i. 417-419; Calderwood, vi. 241-247.

[2] The canons framed in this Convocation, 6-9, declare that those who reject the Episcopal form of government are to be excommunicate. See Chancellor Harrington's pamphlets on the Bidding Prayer and Brief Notes on the Church of Scotland; also his *Reformers of the Anglican Church*, p. 11.

[3] See Burton, v. 430, 431.

Beaton, described as "late lawful archbishop of Glasgow," John Spottiswoode, the historian, minister of Calder, and son of the superintendent of Lothian, was nominated by the king to the see. In the same year, 1604, Gladstanes was translated from Caithness to the metropolitan see of St. Andrews. Both men became prominent agents and co-operators with the king in the restoration of the Episcopal succession; and Spottiswoode's learning and loyalty gave him special influence for many years in the affairs of both Church and State, though his conduct, as we shall see, was not always blameless.

Attention was at this time drawn to the disputed Assembly of Aberdeen. Burton never wearies in reminding his readers that the General Assembly was "a novelty recently brought from France." All the same, it was an importation which took a vigorous hold of the Scottish mind. It is not every exotic that has thriven as this has done in the soil of the hardy thistle. The Assemblies begin now, however, to lose much of their importance and nearly all their vivacity from the absence of the disputatious monarch, although they still gave occasion for strife between kirk and king. The Assembly was cited to meet in Aberdeen in July 1604, and was prorogued for a year by royal proclamation. James Melville and other eight ministers met in St. Nicholas' church of that city to protest and remonstrate. Next July the Assembly was again prohibited by the king's command, and once more the protesters, to the number of nineteen, appeared and elected John Forbes, minister of Alford, as their moderator. A messenger, bearing a letter from the lords of the Secret Council, compelled them to dissolve.[1] They did so under protest, adjourning the Assembly to September. The result of the collision between Kirk and

[1] Secret Council is but another name for Privy Council.

Crown was that several of the ministers were warded in Blackness. Forbes, the moderator, and John Welch, Knox's son-in-law, with other four brethren were summoned before the Secret Council, and upon their declining its jurisdiction, were tried for treason in January 1606. The decision was not given until October, when they were found guilty by nine out of fifteen jurymen of contempt of court, and sentenced to be banished from the king's dominions for life.[1]

There is no denying the tyranny of the king's prosecution of the ministers; but whether it was "punishment or persecution" depends, as Burton remarks, "upon the question whether the control of the ecclesiastical assemblies of an Established Church belongs to the Crown or to the Church itself."[2] The Act of 1592 assigned to the Church the power of appointing the Assembly's meetings, failing the king's appointment; but the special General Assembly of Perth, 1597, limited the recognised meetings of the Church to sessions, presbyteries, and synods, expressly omitting the Assembly, and implying that it could only be convoked by royal warrant. "This question, oddly enough," adds Burton, "is not yet settled, and it is evaded by a subterfuge so abundantly ridiculous as to be a standing butt for the jests of the profane."[3]

On the 9th July 1606 a Parliament was held at Perth, the earl of Montrose being the king's commissioner. The Act of 1587, which annexed the estates of the bishops to the Crown, was rescinded; but confirmation was given to the grants which had been made of other prelacies and benefices. The king's prerogative was also affirmed to a

[1] Calderwood, vi. 342-391; Spottiswoode, iii. 161-163; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 593-612. For Welch see his controversy with Gilbert Brown, abbot of New Abbey.—*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 7, 51-53.

[2] *Hist.* v. 436.

[3] Burton, v. 433. The Assembly is convened and dissolved both by the commissioner in the name of the State and by the moderator in the name of the Church.

degree which made him sovereign over all persons and in all causes; and the temporal lordship of the bishops was set up without any caveats, in accordance with a letter from the king, expressing his desire to maintain the ancient constitution of the Three Estates.[1]

There was much display of prelatic pomp in the Perth Parliament. The nobles were accustomed to ride in their robes to the place of meeting. Ten titular archbishops and bishops, clad in silk and velvet, rode through the streets of Perth between the earls and lords. One modest man, Blackburn, titular-bishop of Aberdeen, had no relish for the episcopal cavalcade, and went to the Parliament-house on foot. But David Lindsay, minister of Leith, the once vigorous protester against episcopacy, was in the mounted procession as bishop of Ross. John Knox, who, on a similar occasion had exclaimed against "the stinking pride of women," would have had better cause now to exclaim against the stinking pride of prelates. They were not satisfied with their position in the order of march, but claimed to rank before the earls, next to marquises; and because this precedence was denied them, they afterwards withdrew from the processions. Men of this stamp were not likely to prove strong pillars in a restored episcopacy, or to reconcile disaffected Scots to its ancient rule. Scotland had seen enough of the mediæval lord-bishop, and what the country wanted in the seventeenth century was the revival of the apostolic spirit, the humility, the simplicity, the holy zeal of the first bishops that gathered the native tribes under the banner of the cross. The prelatic parade in the streets of Perth was a bad omen for the episcopacy that was to restore Apostolic Order.

In the autumn of the year James sent for the two

[1] Calderwood, vi. 493, 494.

titular archbishops, the bishops of Orkney and Galloway, and Nicolson, minister at Meigle, bishop-designate of Dunkeld, and also for the two Melvilles and other six ministers to confer with him at Hampton Court on the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. On successive days in September they were invited to the king's chapel to hear sermons by Anglican divines upon the rights of episcopacy, the claims of the royal prerogative, and the unscriptural character of lay elders. This was varied by conferences with the king, in which he questioned them upon the lawfulness of what he called the conventicle at Aberdeen and the imprisonment of the six ministers for treason. The Scottish bishops condemned the meeting as unlawful, while Andrew Melville and his friends justified it, and defended the conduct of the ministers. Turning upon the lord advocate who was present, Melville accused him of having persecuted the ministers in Scotland; "and still my lord," he said, "you show yourself possessed of the same spirit, for, not content with having pleaded against them in Scotland, you still continue to be 'the accuser of the brethren'" —quoting the last words in Greek. Some one asked what Melville had called the Advocate, and the king answered, "he called him 'the meikle deevil.'"

The course of controversial theology was continued by another service and sermon on St. Michael's Day. Melville had time to survey the furnishings of the royal chapel, and wrote a sarcastic Latin epigram upon what he saw, which somehow fell into the king's hands. It was more than James could stand to have his religion lampooned by a subject in Latin verse. Melville was not in Falkland Palace but in Hampton Court, and "the silly vassal," whose sleeves he had once plucked, was now a great monarch, and could be, on provocation, as tyrannical as the minister himself. Melville must pay for his

audacity. He was cited before the Court at Whitehall to answer for his misdemeanour. When Bancroft, now archbishop of Canterbury, declared the offence to amount to treason, Melville unceremoniously interrupted him—"My lord," said he, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor; but there was one Richard Bancroft who, during the life of the late queen, wrote a treatise against his majesty's title to the crown, and here is the book"—pulling it from his pocket as he spoke. By this time Melville had approached the primate, and, seizing the sleeves of his rochet, he shook them roughly and called them Romish rags. "If you," he said, still addressing the primate, "are the author of the book called *English Scotticizing*, I regard you as the capital enemy of all the reformed Churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings to the effusion of the last drop of my blood." The lord chancellor then took Melville in hand and admonished him to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years. The end of the business was that Melville was committed to the custody of the dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards sent to the Tower, where he was kept a prisoner for three or four years. On regaining his liberty he accepted the office of professor of divinity in the Huguenot University at Sedan. There he lived in comparative obscurity, broken in health and spirits, a victim of the gout, which kept him bed-fast for some years before his death in 1622.[1]

Neither Scotland nor the Kirk was the same after the banishment of Andrew Melville. He was a truly remarkable man; in some respects a great man—great in his unrivalled scholarship, great in his force of character and fearless courage. A republican in principle both for

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 177-183; Calderwood, vi. 559-589; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 688-711.

Church and State, the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in Scotland is due to his genius. The credit of its introduction is often erroneously ascribed to John Knox who was dead and buried twenty years before Presbytery was developed in Scotland.

The behaviour of King James to the Scottish ministers whom he had invited to England was, besides being supremely foolish and tyrannical, a gross breach of the law of hospitality which of itself should have protected them. The other ministers were allowed to return to Scotland in May 1607, excepting James Melville, once in high favour with the king, who retired to Newcastle, and later to Berwick where he died. He was a bland and kindly man, of a different temperament from his imperious uncle, but so completely under his influence that he followed him in all his devious ways, and became the apologist in his *Diary* of his most indefensible actions. We owe to his *Diary* the best contemporary picture of the birth-throes and early struggles of Presbytery in Scotland.[1]

Forbes and Welch and the other four ministers, condemned in October for what were declared to be the treasonable meetings in Aberdeen, were banished in November. The leave-taking at the pier of Leith in the early morning makes a touching picture in the historic landscape of that age, when Welch led the prayers, and a vast body of sympathisers raised their voices in the twenty-third psalm to the Lord their Shepherd. The ministers bade Scotland farewell for a time, and the people returned to their homes the more confirmed in their Presbyterianism from the suffering of their ministers. Several other preachers were relegated to districts then supposed to be outlandish—Caithness, Orkney, Lewis, and Cantyre.[2]

[1] Row, pp. 237, 238.
[2] Calderwood, vi. 590-591; Spottiswoode, iii. 181-182.

The Assembly met at Linlithgow on the 10th December 1606. The earl of Dunbar was king's commissioner and James Nicolson, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was elected moderator. There were present a hundred and thirty-six ministers, and thirty-three nobles and burghers—a fairly representative body, although it has been disparaged as a caucus meeting. There was the usual zeal for the suppression of popery; and the better to effect this object and to strengthen the powers of the presbyteries, it was agreed to appoint the most experienced ministers in each presbytery as permanent moderators of the same. This is a policy often advocated by Presbyterians of the present day, but their historians condemn the action at Linlithgow as an insidious device of the enemy to cover the introduction of Episcopacy, probably because the bishops were to act as moderators of the presbyteries in which they resided, and also of their diocesan synods. The sum of 100 pounds Scots was assigned by James to the fixed moderator in each presbytery, an arrangement which requires to be noted, as the distribution of this money at the Assembly of Glasgow which established Episcopacy in 1610, has been represented as an act of bribery. There was opposition in some of the provincial synods to the statutes of the Linlithgow Assembly, and the synod of Fife and the presbyteries of Lothian and the Merse, the strongholds of Presbyterianism, led the opposition and refused to elect constant moderators.[1]

An Act was passed in the Parliament held at Edinburgh, in August 1607, authorising the archbishop of St. Andrews to select seven ministers within his diocese to form a chapter in place of the prior and canons of the

[1] Calderwood, vi. 601-627; Spottiswoode, iii. 183-187; Row, pp. 240-245; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 567-574.

old hierarchy. This was reasonable enough, but the Act came from the wrong quarter—the Parliament of the State, instead of the Parliament of the Church, which was never consulted. The same high-handed action vitiated much of the king's policy, now firmly resolved upon, to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. It is a proof, which is confirmed from other sources, that the nobles and burgesses, comprising with the prelates the Three Estates of the realm, were, if not favourable, certainly not opposed to Episcopacy; but it would have been only constitutional to have consulted the Assembly as the supreme court of the Church.

Another meeting of Assembly was held again in Linlithgow on the 26th July 1608, the bishop of Orkney being elected moderator by a majority of votes. Besides the earl of Dunbar, royal commissioner, there were present above forty noblemen who took part in the proceedings. Some of the ministers challenged their right to do so, a right which had never been disputed for the fifty years preceding, in course of which the reforming lords, for reasons already indicated, had been prominent actors in many Assemblies. The opposition to their presence now was an admission that the nobles were hostile to the policy of the high Presbyterians of Melville's school, and in favour of a return to the episcopal form of Church government. Patrick Galloway, the retiring moderator, answered the objecting ministers "that if they would cast off the noblemen, their conclusions would want execution; for we must pray and preach," said he, "but they must fight,"—a rather belligerent argument from a Church moderator.

The relapse of the marquis of Huntly and the earls of Angus and Errol into popery, which had come up for consideration in the previous Assembly, was again

discussed in this. There was no abatement of the odious persecution of the Roman Catholics. Episcopalians and Presbyterians were equally imbued with the fierce fanaticism of the time, which imprisoned good men and confiscated their properties for no other crime than being faithful to their religion. Huntly was again excommunicated by the Assembly, and presbyteries were enjoined to deal with other papist lords and lairds, while the commissioner declared from his seat that after forty days no mercy should be shown to them. Ministers were also ordered to safeguard the young against popery by catechising children above six years of age in the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments. After this exhibition of their charity the Assembly was closed with prayer and the singing of Psalms—"And how becoming well, together such as brethren are, in unity to dwell."[1]

The Parliament of 24th June 1609, passed fresh penal laws against the much-suffering papists, and at the same time restored to the bishops the old jurisdiction of the consistorial courts which made them judges in all matters affecting marriage and divorce, and in any business comprised under the elastic words "spiritual and ecclesiastical." In the same Parliament James received statutory authority to regulate the robes of ecclesiastics, judges, and magistrates. This has been facetiously described as "constituting this famous monarch by act of Parliament tailor to the Court of Session and the Church."[2]

In February of next year the king enlarged the legal jurisdiction of the Church by the erection of two courts of High Commission, one in each of the provinces, St. Andrews and Glasgow, for the trial of such as were "scandalous in life or religion." A sederunt of the court

[1] Calderwood, vi. 751-778; Spottiswoode, iii. 193-195; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 575-587; Row, pp. 249-252. [2] Cunningham, ii. 21.

required not less than five commissioners, of whom the archbishop must be one, and the others, bishops, lords, judges, and ministers. They had power to fine, imprison, or excommunicate a subject, and they might depose a minister, but not apparently without appeal. These courts have been identified with the courts of the same name established by Henry VIII. in England, which were made instruments of oppression by both Tudor and Stuart sovereigns. But the Scottish courts of High Commission resembled the English in name more than in reality. The same powers as to fines and imprisonment are now committed to single judges and magistrates, without the guarantee afforded by a necessary quorum of five members, and there is no clamour raised against the arbitrary powers of the bench. It was the high-handed way in which the courts were set up, by royal prerogative and without consent of Parliament, which made them unpopular and odious. Dr. Burton, as a Scottish lawyer, takes a very different view of the courts from that of the ecclesiastical historians who have expatiated upon their tyranny and oppression.[1]

Presbyterianism had been slowly and steadily declining for some time. In four years, 1592-96, it had reached its zenith; and then from various causes, not the least being the extravagant assumptions of Melville and his supporters, it entered upon its declension. Presbyteries, synods, and assemblies remained, but they were now what Calderwood regretfully calls "shadows and shows of our discipline." They still continued under Episcopacy as under Presbyterianism, the bishop presiding in the synod and the archbishop in the Assembly. There

1 *Hist. Scot.* v. 442. Their decisions were subject to an appeal to the Court of Session. Burton in a note cites a case of appeal by the Aberdeen papists against a decreit of archbishop Spottiswoode. See also Calderwood, vii. 57-63; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 786-792; Cook's *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 249.

is nothing incompatible with a free and constitutional Episcopacy in graded ecclesiastical courts, from the little circle of the kirk-session to the supreme sphere of the Assembly. Scottish Presbyterians borrowed the system from the French Huguenots, but the idea was no invention of Frenchmen. If not as old as the hills, it is at least as old as civilisation, whether applied to civil or ecclesiastical government. The Anglo-Saxon tithings and hundreds, leading up to the Witenagemot, represented the same principle of gradation, and it was also exemplified both under the Greek and Roman Republics in pre-Christian times. The idea of such subdivision of government admits of no patent. Its simplicity and practical efficiency have been its obvious recommendation alike to statesmen and to ecclesiastics. Our modern parish councils, county councils, etc. are only developments of the same universal norm; or, in other words, of the principle of a series of judicatories, each invested with governing power proportionate to the area in which it exercises authority.

Everything was now in readiness for the restoration in Scotland of the ancient historic Episcopate, but it was not deemed wise that the restoration should be effected by an arbitrary proclamation from Whitehall. The royal prerogative had already been stretched to the verge of snapping, and James wisely agreed, acting, as Spottiswoode says, under the advice of the titular bishops, to summon a General Assembly for the adoption of Episcopal government. The king's action was, however, greatly vitiated by his interference, through the archbishop of St. Andrews, in the choice of ministers to represent the different presbyteries in the Assembly.[1]

The Assembly met in Glasgow on the 8th June 1610

[1] Calderwood, vii. 91-93.

under the earl of Dunbar, who was again royal commissioner, and there were present thirteen bishops, as many nobles, forty barons and burghers, and upwards of a hundred ministers. Spottiswoode, titular archbishop of Glasgow, was chosen moderator; and in his sermon before the Assembly he severely denounced the sacrilege that had occurred, the unfaithfulness among lay patrons, and the ecclesiastical strife that had prevailed. Religion, he said, had been brought in by confusion, it must now be maintained by order; it had been brought in against authority, it must now be maintained by authority. The bishop of Orkney, and Dr. Hudson, an English divine, also preached; the one, on the lawfulness of episcopacy, and the other, on the superiority of bishops over presbyters.

The first day of meeting was observed as a fast; and Calderwood, who never misses an apposite illustration when it tells for his own side, compares it to the fast that was proclaimed when Naboth's vineyard was taken from him by royal prerogative. Much of the business was practically settled in committee, and although the same thing was invariably done in the Scottish Parliament by the lords of the Articles, this fact has been made a pretext for branding the Assembly as a gagged conventicle. There was more order and decorum than sometimes prevailed in Assemblies, due to the absence of the fiery leaders, now exiled by tyranny, and also to the manner in which ministers had been elected.

After three days' discussion the following eleven articles were accepted with little opposition. (1) That the calling of General Assemblies belongs to the king, and that the conventicle of Aberdeen in 1605 was unlawful. (2) That Diocesan Synods be held twice in the year, April and October, or oftener in the larger dioceses, for

convenience of the ministry, and that the bishops be their moderators. (3) That no sentence of excommunication, or absolution therefrom, be pronounced without the approbation of the bishop, and that if he stay the pronouncing of any legitimate sentence he shall be tried by the Assembly, and if convicted, intimation shall be made to the king for his removal. (4) That all presentations to benefices be made to the bishop of the diocese, who shall, after trial and examination of the presentee, perfect his ordination with the assistance of the ministers of the bounds. (5) That in the suspension and deposition of ministers the bishop should associate with himself the ministers of the bounds wherein the delinquent served, and upon trial and conviction pronounce sentence. (6) That every minister on his admission swear obedience to his majesty and the Ordinary according to the form appointed in 1572. (7) That the bishops visit their dioceses in person, or by deputy where the diocese is too large. (8) That the weekly exercise of doctrine among the ministers be continued, and that the bishop moderate the same, or appoint a substitute in synod.[1] (9) That the bishops be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice, to the censure of the General Assembly, and, being found culpable, with his majesty's consent be deprived. (10) That no bishop be elected until the completion of his fortieth year, and after ten years' service as a teaching minister. (11) That no minister speak against these articles in public, nor dispute the question of the equality or inequality of the ministry, as tending only to schism and dispeace.[2]

[1] The weekly exercise existed before the institution of presbyteries; it here takes the place of the presbytery, a name which is now dropped.

[2] Calderwood, vii. 91-108; Spottiswoode, iii. 205-207; Row's *History*, pp. 274-279; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 610-613. Spottiswoode omits articles 9 and 10, the former of which gives power to the Assembly to censure the bishop; also the clause in the 3rd article touching the powers

At the close of the Assembly 5000 pounds Scots were distributed by the royal commissioner as salaries to the fixed moderators of presbyteries, at the rate of a 100 pounds Scots to each, in accordance with the resolution of the Linlithgow Assembly in 1606. There is a Latin proverb that money has no smell.[1] It was otherwise with the money pocketed by the moderators on this occasion. That it was given in accordance with a previous statute, and after the business of the Assembly was concluded, should have obviated all suspicion of bribery; yet such a charge was freely made at the time by the Presbyterians, and has been repeated by several historians since. The distribution was certainly inopportune, and open to not unnatural suspicion.[2]

There were few Assemblies of these years in which the familiar names of the marquis of Huntly and the earls of Angus and Errol did not appear. A petition was presented from them to this Glasgow Assembly craving that they might be liberated from the excommunications under which they were lying. They were now in different prisons—Huntly in Stirling, Angus in Glasgow, and Errol in Edinburgh—under the charge of having relapsed into popery. Huntly, to secure his liberty, offered to sign the Confession of Faith; Angus promised to do the same, but on reflection he preferred to abandon his country, and went to France. The fate of Errol was the saddest of all. He agreed to sign the Confession, but the very night after, he was seized with such remorse of conscience that he attempted suicide in prison. He confessed his dissimulation with many tears next morning

of the Assembly over the bishop, and the clause in the 4th article requiring the assistance of the ministers in the ordination of a presbyter. He is severely censured for the omissions by Dr. Cook, *Hist.* ii. 227-237, and Dr. Grub, *Hist.* ii. 294.

[1] *Pecunia non olet.*

[2] Spottiswoode, iii. 207.

to Spottiswoode, who records that "the nobleman was of a tender heart, and of all that I have known the most conscientious in his profession; and thereupon to his dying was used by the Church with greater lenity than were others of that sect."[1] The eyes of Scottish ecclesiastics were still blinded to the abominable cruelty and injustice of these persecutions. Calderwood, who laments over the banishment of the six ministers, has nothing to say against the imprisonment of the popish nobles, but he censures the earl of Dunbar for giving the earl of Errol his liberty, and for not having his lands and rents confiscated to the Crown.[2]

Spottiswoode was called to London by the king in the September following the Assembly, and asked to bring with him two of the titular Scottish bishops. He selected Lamb of Brechin and Hamilton of Galloway, and, on their first audience, the king explained the object for which he had summoned them. What follows is Spottiswoode's report of his majesty's conversation: "That he had to his great charge recovered the bishoprics forth of the hands of those that possessed them, and bestowed the same upon such as he hoped should prove worthy of their places; but since he could not make them bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter them to their charge by consecration, he had called them to England, that being consecrated themselves they might at their return give ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries' mouths be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create bishops, and bestow spiritual offices, which he never did, nor would he presume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Christ alone and those whom

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 203. [2] Calderwood, vii. 159.

He had authorised with His power." The archbishop represented that the Church of Scotland, because of old usurpations, might regard this action as subjection to the Church of England. The king answered that he had provided against that danger by purposely excluding the two English primates whose predecessors had claimed jurisdiction over the Scottish Church.[1]

Before the consecration, Dr. Andrewes, bishop of Ely, raised the question of orders, and pressed that the titular bishops-elect "must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no ordination from a bishop." Dr. Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, maintained that "there was no necessity for this, seeing that where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches." The primate's opinion was supported by Dr. Abbot, bishop of London, who further cited the historical cases of St. Ambrose and Nectarius, both of whom were laymen consecrated *per saltum* to the episcopate.[2] The majority of the bishops concurred with Bancroft and Abbot, and, this difficulty being overcome, the three Scottish prelates were consecrated by the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester, in the chapel of London House, on Sunday 21st October 1610.

Two exceptions are usually taken to this ordination of the bishops in London—the one that it was English, the other that it was Episcopal. There is no denying either fact, whatever blame may be imputable for the one or the other. The Scottish Episcopate came at this time from England, and so it is probable did Christianity in the first ages. But a closer and more pertinent analogy is

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 209.

[2] For Ambrose and Nectarius see Robertson's *Hist. Christian Ch.* i. 246, 249.

supplied by the new English Bible, which came to Scotland the very year after the bishops (1611), and yet no country has reverenced more than Scotland the translation of the Anglican divines. The same men who consecrated the three Scottish bishops had a chief hand, notably bishop Andrewes, in providing Scotland with its Bible. And if it be said that the original of the Bible came from Palestine, so did the order of the Episcopate, which the Anglican bishops merely transmitted, as they did the English Scriptures, to North Britain.[1]

The second objection, that the ordination was Episcopal, opens the main issue between Episcopalian and Presbyterian, and belongs to the domain of ecclesiastical polity rather than of history. However the question may be settled, no one who places any value on the act of ordination can consistently blame Episopalians for seeking the ministerial commission from "the Historic Episcopate," instead of resting content with the miserable subterfuge of pseudo-bishops, the titulars and tulchans, condemned alike by Episcopalian and Presbyterian.

Public opinion in Scotland was very much divided as to the introduction of Episcopacy. The nobles, who were not Roman Catholics, were as a body in favour of the change, although some of their order, enriched with the old Church properties, regarded it with considerable distrust, from a suspicion that the king, instigated by the

[1] Dr. Rankin, *Hist. Scot.* ed. Story, ii. 485, has the following criticism on the English consecration. "It does strike one as odd, being unhistoric and mal-geographic, to hear tell of a Scottish Episcopal Church, not only the orders of which, but the very idea of which, came from England." It is true as to the channel of the orders, but "the very idea" was a good deal older than the Christianity of either Scotland or England. And, might it not strike an unprejudiced witness as equally odd and unhistoric to speak of a "Scottish Presbyterian Church," seeing that its Church polity came from the French Huguenots, its Bible from the English bishops, and its Confession and Catechisms from the Westminster divines, who were mostly English Puritans?

English bishops, would demand for the support of the episcopate a restoration of at least a portion of the ecclesiastical lands and rentals. The ministers were more divided, and doubtless from less mercenary motives. In the strongholds of Presbytery—Fife, Merse, the Lothians, and to a less extent Ayr and Lanarkshire—the large majority of ministers were Presbyterian ; in all the other districts the ministers were mostly in favour of Episcopacy. Among the great body of the people the general feeling was one of indifference to Church government, coupled with the desire to accept, for the sake of peace and order, what had been agreed upon by the Assembly and by the Parliament. The settlement of 1610 lasted for more than a quarter of a century, longer than any other polity since the Reformation in 1560 ; and when it fell, the fall was due to other causes than opposition to the principle of Episcopacy.

# CHAPTER X

## JAMES VI.—FROM RESTORATION OF EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION, 1610, TO THE DEATH OF THE KING, 1625

Consecration of other ten bishops — Spottiswoode alone qualified for a bishopric—Mediocrity of other bishops—King's instructions to bishops—Parliament of 1612 ratifies Episcopal Government—Bishop Cowper of Galloway—Death of prince Henry, and of David Lindsay, titular bishop of Ross—Persecution of Romanists — Execution of Ogilvie the Jesuit—Spottiswoode succeeds Gladstanes in archbishopric of St. Andrews—Frequent translations of bishops—Death of marquis of Huntly—University degrees regarded as papistical—Progress of Scotland—Spottiswoode's suggested reforms—Assembly at Aberdeen, 1616—Its enactments for liturgy, grammar schools, church registers—King's Five Articles proposed—King visits Scotland, 1617—Holds Parliament—Its enactments—Dissatisfaction of Presbyterians therewith—King's Book of Sports—Assembly at St. Andrews, 1617—King's displeasure with the bishops—Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen—Perth Assembly, 1618, accepts the King's Five Articles—More persecution of Romanists—Synod of Dort—Parliament of 1621 ratifies Perth Articles—William Forbes minister in Edinburgh, and afterwards its first bishop—Deaths of eminent Presbyterian ministers, and of James VI.

THE three bishops on their return to Scotland proceeded with the consecration of the prelates nominated for the other sees. Gladstanes was consecrated archbishop of St. Andrews in his primatial city, and in a letter dated 3rd May 1611, he informed the king that all the bishops had been then consecrated.[1]

[1] Melville's *Diary*, p. 804; *Original Letters of Reign of James Sixth*, i. 265-270.

Of the whole thirteen bishops, Spottiswoode alone was conspicuous for anything like scholarship or ability. He was probably as much of a statesman as a prelate, or was made so by the political exigencies of the time. When Gladstanes died in 1615, he succeeded him in the primacy; and Charles I., twenty years later, was sufficiently ill-advised to make him chancellor of Scotland. The history he wrote, frequently cited in these pages, is lucid in style and an interesting narrative of Church affairs from 1527 to 1625, free from the rancour which disfigures the history of his able Presbyterian contemporary, David Calderwood.[1]

The Church on its re-organisation in 1610 needed eminently wise and able men for its rulers, bishops of exceptional tact, patient to bear with long-standing prejudices, and in sympathy with the national love of independence. The prelates of James's appointment possessed few of these qualities. An English statesman, who had heard Lamb preaching on a public occasion, before he became bishop of Brechin, remarked that instead of a lamb he found a sheep in the pulpit. Gladstanes, who as primate ought to have had special qualifications for a position difficult to fill at any time, and doubly so at that time, was entirely devoid of administrative ability or tact. He was in every sense a mediocre man, and brought little credit to the Church during the few years of his primacy; while Spottiswoode says "he was of an easy nature, and induced by those he trusted to do many things injurious to the see." The bishops were, no doubt, heavily handicapped by the manner of their appointment. They were not the choice of the people, or of the clergy, but the king's bishops in virtue of what he was pleased to style his prerogative. Though the men were not personally discreditable, they were weak representatives of the episcopal

[1] Dr. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, ed. 1856, p. 390.

order. The manner of their appointment made them still more objectionable, and altogether they contributed much to the unpopularity of Episcopacy in Scotland. The Church, under their guidance, instead of coming out into the open field and throwing itself upon the support of the people, claiming their adherence to it as the Reformed Catholic Church, representative of the faith of the first Christian ages in Scotland, was always cowering under the shelter of the Crown, or the High Commission, or the Parliament. All through the seventeenth century, Episcopacy was dogged by the baneful shadow of the king's prerogative. This is the key to the chequered history of Scottish Episcopacy, as it was the main cause of its unpopularity, and of its practical inefficiency as an Establishment down to the Revolution. It was the same, though in altered circumstances, after that event. Established or disestablished, it was the Church's fate to be miserably bound in trammels to the Stuart dynasty, and to have the hands of its governing bishops fettered by Erastian bonds.

Early in 1611 the king sent instructions for the clergy, which were accepted at a meeting of the bishops in Edinburgh. Among these were the following:—That the archbishop and bishops should reside in the city of their cathedral church and endeavour to repair the same —a somewhat formidable task for most of them—that bishops should visit their dioceses every three years, and the archbishop his province every seven; that "although laic elders have neither warrant in the Word, nor example of the primitive Church," yet was it necessary that wise and discreet laymen should be selected to aid the minister in repairing the fabric of the church, providing elements for the holy communion, and contributions for the poor; that no minister should be admitted without trial and

laying on of hands by the bishop and other ministers, according to a uniform order of service to be printed; that the king should be petitioned to call, when required by the Church, a meeting of the General Assembly; that the Assembly should consist of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and ministers elected by their brethren; that young men should not be allowed to preach until they were ordained.[1] There was little to be objected to in the principle of these regulations, but very much in the source from which they came,—the king in Whitehall, instead of the Church, speaking through her constitutional courts.

The episcopal order which had received the sanction of the Church in the Assembly of 1610 was still without legal confirmation by the State; and the Act of 1592 disestablishing the titular episcopate was as yet unrepealed. To give legal sanction to Episcopacy, Parliament met at Edinburgh in October 1612. It ratified the Assembly's action of two years before, and rescinded the Act of 1592.[2]

Gavin Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, died in 1612 after a short tenure of his episcopate, and was succeeded by William Cowper, minister of Perth. It is unnecessary for the purposes of history to give a dreary catalogue of bishops whose names, after their death, were probably little heard of beyond their own dioceses, but Cowper was not a bishop of that stamp. He was distinguished not less for his learning and good life than for the singular eloquence

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 210-212.

[2] The two articles of the Glasgow Assembly regarding the censure of bishops by the Assembly, and their age and services on ordination to the episcopate, were both omitted; and as they are suspiciously dropped by Spottiswoode in his narrative of the Assembly, their omission by this Parliament may have been due to his influence. Cook, in his *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 236, note, while blaming the archbishop severely, if he meant deliberately to misrepresent the facts, adds—"It is proper, however, to observe that most unwarrantable freedom was taken with the archbishop's manuscript." See on this, Editor's preface to Spottiswoode, pp. v. to xvii.

which made him the first preacher of his day. On public occasions, such as the consecration of a bishop, he was frequently appointed the preacher, both before and after his elevation to the episcopate. He was like other gifted men whom we have named, Knox and Melville to wit, inordinately sensitive to public criticism; and as he had said some hard things against Episcopacy when it was popular to abuse it, he laid himself specially open now to the animadversion of his former friends who did not forget his vulnerable heel. During his seven years' tenure of the see the puritans persistently worried him, but he never wavered in his later convictions. Speaking of Episcopacy he writes, "I esteem it a lawful, ancient, and necessary government. I see not, nor have read of any Church which wanted it before our time; only the abuses of it by pride, tyranny, and idleness have brought it into misliking. From those evils I pray the Lord preserve his servants that now are, or hereafter shall be called to those places. But there is no reason why a thing good in itself should be condemned or rejected for the evil of abuse, for so no good thing at all would be retained in the Church."[1]

The country had the misfortune to lose the king's eldest son, prince Henry, who died at St. James's 6th November 1612, in the midst of the preparations for the marriage of his sister Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. The changes consequent upon

[1] Account of bishop Cowper, prefixed to his Works, published at London, 1623, pp. 6, 7. Spottiswoode, iii. 258; Calderwood, vii. 180, 349-351; Lawson, *Hist. Ch.* pp. 324-334. Dr. M'Crie says in his *Life of Melville*, p. 390, ed. 1856, that Cowper's sermons "are perhaps superior to any sermons of that age." M'Crie tells the story of a staunch Presbyterian woman who had greatly admired Cowper's Perth sermons finding her way to the bishop's residence in Edinburgh, and rebuking him for deserting the old cause. The bishop, to excuse himself, said he had found new light. "Oh yes," replied she, "ye had ane candle afore, and now I see ye have twa. That's your new licht."

his death were momentous to the nation. Prince Charles became heir to the Crown, and on a later day Elizabeth's grandson, George I., stepped in between her brother's descendants and the throne.

In 1613 there passed away, at the age of eighty-three, the last survivor of the Reformation struggle, David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, better known as minister of Leith, where he had officiated without interruption from 1560. Like Cowper he had used his eloquence against episcopacy before accepting a bishopric. His promotion was due to the king's favour, and was one of the few transactions in which James was true to the friendship of his early years. Spottiswoode was Lindsay's son-in-law, and he records that the old minister and bishop "was a man universally beloved and well esteemed by all wise men."[1]

The Roman Catholics were still numerous, especially in the north, and kept up their worship and customs, openly or secretly, in spite of the "diligence committees" appointed to hunt them down. In this respect Episcopacy abated nothing of the fervour of Presbytery; it was equally zealous, and equally intolerant. In Aberdeen, Caithness, and Edinburgh, we read of lairds and tradesmen, priests and advocates, being imprisoned and banished for the profession of papacy.[2] Spottiswoode had shown his protestant zeal by wrecking the church of New Abbey in 1609, and burning "books, copes, chalices, pictures, images, and such other popish trash, on a mercat day in the High Street of Dumfries."[3] In 1614-15 he had an opportunity of exhibiting his zeal in a different form, and in a manner which has covered his name, not undeservedly,

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 220; Calderwood, vii. 178, mentions his decease without note or comment.

[2] *Records of Kirk-Session of Aberdeen*, pp. 33, 70, 86, 91, 180; Calderwood, vi. 679.

[3] *Original Letters, Reign of James Sixth*, i. 410; Forbes-Leith's *Narrative*, p. 290.

with still greater reproach. John Ogilvie, a Jesuit missionary, eldest son of Ogilvie of Drum, near Keith, had arrived from the Jesuit college of Gratz, with some other Romanists, in the previous year. The archbishop wrote to the king that "it had pleased God to cast in his hands a Jesuit,"—meaning that he had apprehended Ogilvie in Glasgow. Upon being examined before the archbishop and a commission as to his residence and business in Scotland, Ogilvie declined to compromise his friends. The court then hit upon the barbarous device of torturing him, so as to prevent sleep and compel a confession. But as soon as he was permitted his natural rest he denied all he had confessed. He repudiated the authority of Acts of Parliament on religious subjects as beyond its jurisdiction; "for which," said he, "I will not give a rotten fig. And as for the king, if he play the runagate from God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him more than this old hat." Proceeding in the same strain he added, "I am a subject as free as the king is as a king: I came by the commandment of my superior into this kingdom, and if I were even now forth of it, I would return; neither do I repent anything but that I have not been so busy as I should in that which you call perverting of subjects. I am accused of declining the king's authority, and will do it still in matter of religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do; and this which I say the best of your ministers do maintain, and if they be wise will continue of the same mind. Some questions were moved to me which I refused to answer, because the proposers were not judges in controversies of religion, and therefore I trust you cannot infer anything against me." "But I hope," said the archbishop, "you will not make this a controversy of religion whether the king being deposed by the pope may be lawfully killed." To this he

replied, "It is a question among the doctors of the Church; many hold the affirmative, not improbably; but as that point is not yet determined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it; and to call it unlawful, I will not, though I should save my life by saying it." Ogilvie was condemned to death on the 10th March 1615, and in the afternoon of the same day was hanged in the public street of Glasgow.[1]

In the same year, 1615, Spottiswoode succeeded Gladstanes in St. Andrews, and Law, bishop of Orkney, was translated to Glasgow. Orkney also was filled by a bishop translated from Dunblane. Translation of bishops was the order of the day, although it is not easy to imagine what could have induced a prelate to exchange the leafy seclusion of "Auld Dunblane" for the stormy Orkneys, unless it were the richer endowment. The saintly Leighton had no desire to exchange it, even to be metropolitan of Glasgow; only Leighton was Leighton, a prince among bishops. Blackburn, bishop of Aberdeen, died in 1616, and was succeeded by Alexander Forbes, translated from Caithness, while the clergy and people wished another Forbes—Patrick, a much abler man—at that time parish priest at Keith. Of him we shall hear more as bishop of Aberdeen at the next vacancy of the see in 1618. The frequency of episcopal translations suggests that the bishops were not comfortable in their seats, or that they were very ambitious, each esteeming his brother's vineyard better than his own.[2]

The marquis of Huntly about this time again disturbs the peace of the Church. Once more he had relapsed,

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 222-226; Forbes-Leith, *Narrative*, etc. pp. 310-314; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 350-354; *Original Letters of James Sixth*, ii. 385-391; Calderwood, vii. 196.

[2] *Original Letters, James Sixth*, ii. 437, and preface, p. xxxvii.; Spottiswoode, iii. 227; Calderwood, vii. 197, 201, 203.

and had now aggravated his original sin by prohibiting his dependents and tenants from attending church. For this he was committed to Edinburgh castle on a warrant from the High Commission, but in a few days he was released by order of the chancellor. The bishops remonstrated against the chancellor's interference, and sent bishop Forbes of Caithness to represent their views to the king. The ministers, as in the earlier days, attacked the chancellor from their pulpits, "making great exclamations as against one that abused his place and power." He increased their resentment by telling the bishops that "he cared not what their Church thought of him." Huntly also found his way to the king; for in spite of all his relapses, he continued in high favour with James. In the end, it was agreed that he should be absolved by the archbishop of Canterbury. The Scottish bishops resented this as an additional encroachment upon their rights. Both the king and Dr. Abbot, the English primate, wrote to archbishop Spottiswoode disclaiming any assumption of authority over the Scottish Church; and it was finally settled that Huntly should present a supplication to the General Assembly and be absolved anew, which was accordingly done at Aberdeen.[1] As this may be the last occasion of our naming the oft-relapsing and repenting marquis, we may add that he died at Dundee in 1636, a penitent and devout son of the Roman Church, with whose rites he was buried in Elgin cathedral.[2]

An event of some interest in academic circles took place in the year 1616. Among many things reputed by the ministers since the Reformation to be popish

[1] Dr. Abbot, in his letter to Spottiswoode says, "We well know that as the kingdom of Scotland is a free and absolute monarchy, so the Church of Scotland is entire in itself and independent upon any other Church.' See letter in Spottiswoode, iii. 233-235.

[2] Spottiswoode, iii. 230-236; Calderwood, vii. 218, 226.

and superstitious were the ancient degrees of doctor, master, and bachelor, conferred by the Universities for distinction in learning. King James had the ambition to revive them in Scotland. They were still conferred in England, but there, according to the extreme Scottish faction, "the Reformation was not a perfect work." Dr. Young, dean of Winchester, was sent as the king's representative on the occasion of their revival at St. Andrews. The principals of its three colleges and several ministers received the degree of doctor of divinity, while others declined it as popish.[1] It is long since any savour of popery has been suspected, even in the degree of D.D., and it is now scarcely credible that degrees of learning were ever placed in the category of Romish superstitions.

A speech delivered to the Estates in this year, 1616, by Sir Thomas Hamilton, lord Binning, founder of the house of Haddington, and an able statesman and lawyer, gives a graphic description of the improvement in the social condition of Scotland. The change seems to have been entirely due to the strong executive that the king was enabled to form after his accession to the English throne. The picture which he draws of the country before the union of the Crowns is as black as any that was ever painted of mediæval Scotland. Fifty years of the Reformation had not civilised it; and Edinburgh, the very centre of that movement, is here described by one who knew it well as "being the ordinary place of butchery, revenge, and daily fights." Contrast the change described by the same hand, after thirteen years of firmer government—"These and all other abominations, which, settled by inveterate custom and impunity, appeared to be of desperate remeid, had been so repressed, punished, and abolished by your majesty's care, power, and expenses, as no nation on earth

[1] Calderwood, vii. 222.

can now compare with our prosperities, whereby we are bound to retribute to your majesty if it were the very half of our heart's blood."[1]

The condition of the Scottish Church, however, did not yet satisfy the king and his advisers; and Spottiswoode, when in England in 1615, drew up a list of its principal requirements. These were, a form of divine service, a confession of faith akin to the English confession, an order for the election of bishops and ministers, forms for marriage, baptism, and holy communion, the use of confirmation, and a code of canons and constitutions. "These things," said Spottiswoode, "must be advised and agreed upon in a general assembly of the clergy which must be drawn to the form of the convocation house here in England."[2]

The draft of a new Confession of Faith had been submitted in 1612 to the two archbishops, but the Confession actually passed by the Assembly of 1616 was far from being conformable to the Anglican Articles, and was more rigidly Calvinistic as to election and predestination than the Confession of 1560. Spottiswoode's desire for an amendment in the mode of election of bishops was laudable, but it is significant that he speaks of the future, "in time hereafter," not of the present, as if afraid to touch the sacred ark of the king's prerogative. Not less laudable was the resolution to have his proposals submitted to the General Assembly for approval, although his idea of having the Assembly remodelled after the pattern of the English Convocation was highly impolitic for Scotland.

The Assembly met at Aberdeen in August 1616, Spottiswoode presiding as metropolitan, with the earl of

[1] *The Melros Papers*, i. 273; cited by Burton, vi. 15, 16. Burton, vi. 16-26, gives instances confirmatory of lord Binning's statements.

[2] Grub, ii. 305; Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies of the reign of James VI.* Introduction, p. xv.

Montrose as royal commissioner. It was enacted that a confession of faith should be compiled which all should swear to before being admitted to any office in Church or State; that no man should be permitted to practise medicine unless he had first satisfied the bishop of the diocese touching his religion; that a liturgy or book of common prayer should be drawn up for the use of the Church; that the Acts of the General Assemblies should be collected to serve for canons of discipline; that children should be carefully catechised and confirmed by the bishops, or, in their absence, by ministers employed in the visitation of churches; that grammar schools should be established in all parishes where the same might be conveniently done, and that a register should be kept of baptisms, marriages, and burials by the minister of every parish.[1]

The requirement of a guarantee of orthodoxy from practitioners in medicine was a precaution against the action of the Jesuits, who, under the guise of ministering to the sick, were industriously propagating their creed. In the Assembly of 1601 a commission had been appointed to revise Knox's Book of Common Order, but nothing came of it. By the king's desire the matter was again mooted in this Assembly, which appointed a small committee, the result of whose labours was "The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, with other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland." The book, however, was never printed.[2] The word "Liturgy" in the popular sense of a Prayer Book, and not as restricted to the Eucharistic Office, appears, for the first

[1] *Original Letters, James Sixth's Reign*, i. 293; ii. 445, 446, 481-488; Calderwood, vii. 220-242; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, 589-599. Spottiswoode, iii. 235, 236, says nothing of the proposed Confession of Faith. Sprott, *Lit. King James VI.* p. xvii.

[2] *Historical Account of Scot. Com. Office*, by Dr. Dowden, pp. 27, 28; *Scottish Liturgies of Reign of James VI.*, ed. Dr. G. W. Sprott.

time in Scottish usage, in the Acts of this Assembly. The order now passed to establish grammar schools in every parish was the foundation of the parish school system of Scotland, which so many modern writers erroneously attribute to the initiative of John Knox. Not to Knox, but to Spottiswoode; and not to him alone, but also in part, as we shall see, to later legislation by Charles the First—belongs the credit of the establishment of parish schools.

The king accepted all the enactments of the Aberdeen Assembly excepting the one on Confirmation, which he characterised as "a mere hotch-potch, and not so clear as was requisite." As it stood, the article was open to objection from the uncertainty as to who should confirm the children. His majesty made this more clear in the five articles which he now submitted for insertion among the canons of the Church. They prescribed (1) Kneeling on reception of the Holy Communion; (2) Private communion to the sick; (3) Private baptism in case of necessity; (4) Observance of the holy days commemorative of Christ's Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Advent of the Holy Ghost; (5) Confirmation of children. Under this last head it is ordered that "the minister catechise all children of eight years of age, and see that they know the Belief, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the other questions in the small catechism used in the Church, and that the bishop on his visitation should bless them, with prayer for increase of grace." [1]

These are in substance the same as the famous Five Articles of Perth passed in 1618. For politic reasons the archbishop represented to the king that as they had not been submitted to the Church courts, it would be mean-

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 236, 237.

while imprudent to include them in the code of canons. James consented to their suspension, seeing that he was coming to Scotland next year, and would settle everything in person. His visit, he added in a letter to the Council, "did proceed of a longing he had to return to the place of his breeding, a *salmon-like instinct*." The king forgot that the salmon returns every year, and he had now been absent from "the place of his breeding" for thirteen years.

Great preparations were made for the king's visit in 1617.[1] Holyrood was refurnished; and the chapel royal within its walls, the same that his mother, queen Mary, had used, was fitted up for a richer ritual than had obtained in Scotland for many years. English carpenters landed at Leith with "the portraits of the apostles to be set in the pews or stalls," and the popular imagination caught the idea that, in the trail of organs and images, the mass would be set up. The bishop of Galloway, as dean of the chapel royal, took fright at the old cry of "No popery," and sent a letter to the king subscribed by the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, and divers of the ministers of Edinburgh, begging that "for the offence that was taken he might stay the affixing of these portraits." The king in an angry letter told them "that in their ignorance they could not distinguish between pictures intended for ornament and decoration, and images erected for worship and adoration; that they could endure lions, dragons, and devils to be figured in their churches, but would not allow the like place to the patriarchs and apostles."[2]

The king arrived in Edinburgh on the 16th May

[1] See *Register of Privy Council of Scot.*, ed. by Dr. Masson, vol. xi. A.D. 1616-1619.

[2] Spottiswoode, iii. 238, 239. It would appear from the king's letter that they were not painted portraits but carved wooden figures of the Apostles. They were not completed in time, and thus the matter dropped.

1617, and remained in Scotland until August. He was accompanied by several English divines, among whom were Dr. Andrewes, the learned bishop of Ely, and "a certain small-bodied and red-faced Dr. William Laud," then dean of Gloucester, who was now making his first acquaintance with an ecclesiastical field that was to become familiar, if not fatal, to him.[1] Services of the Anglican type were held in the chapel royal, and on Whitsun Day, the 8th June, the bishop of Ely preached, and the Eucharist was celebrated according to the English Office, the two Scottish archbishops and several of the bishops being present.

On the 17th June Parliament met. Spottiswoode preached, and the king made a long speech, recalling what he had done for justice and for religion, referring to the number of churches still unplanted, to the insufficient maintenance of the ministers, and to his appointment of justices and constables, which had promoted the peace and good order of the realm. He concluded by saying that his ambition was equal to that of the Roman Emperor, who found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble. Much altercation followed on choosing the lords of the Articles, the king's nominees being frequently rejected, greatly to his displeasure. The first article proposed by the lords was touching the king's authority in causes ecclesiastical, and ran thus, "Whatsoever conclusion was taken by his majesty with advice of the archbishops and bishops in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." The bishops, to their credit, remonstrated, and declared that the advice and consent of the presbyters was also required. James said

[1] See *Register of Privy Council of Scot.*, ed. by Dr. Masson, vol. xi. A.D. 1616-1619. Laud was afterwards bishop of St. Davids, bishop of London, and archbishop of Canterbury.

he did not object to that, but he added—"To have matters ruled as they have been in your General Assemblies I will never agree, for the bishops must rule the ministers, and the king rule both, in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God." The clause was then adjusted and passed in this form—"That whatsoever his majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law."

It did not satisfy the Presbyterian ministers, even in this modified shape, and their historian describes it as "like to cut the cords of the remanent liberties of our Kirk." Some of them presented a formal protest against it, with the result that three of their number, Simson, minister of Dalkeith, Ewart of Edinburgh, and Calderwood of Crailing (the historian), were summoned before the High Commission which met in the presence of the king at St. Andrews. Simson and Ewart were deprived, and Calderwood was not only deprived but committed to the Tolbooth till he should find caution to leave the kingdom. Calderwood argued the matter with greater pertinacity than courtesy before the king, and justified the action of the Assemblies in their defence of the liberties of the Church.[1] After a time the king withdrew the obnoxious article, and substituted an alternative of a still more objectionable character, which put the king's licence into the hands of a chapter for the election of a bishop, and at the same time compelled the chapter to elect the person nominated by the king. This was similar to the English form of *congé d'élire*, which still obtains in filling

[1] The historian has given the discussion at much length in his history. See Calderwood, vii. 249-282; Spottiswoode, iii. 240-247. If Calderwood's report may be trusted, the conduct of some members of the High Commission, including the bishops, towards him was very disgraceful.

a vacant see in England. It was a violation of the Concordat at Leith, which placed the election of bishops under the control of the Church, and a reversion to the worst abuse of pre-Reformation times. And yet there was no protest from the Scottish prelates, who thus tamely acquiesced in an usurpation opposed to constitutional principles, certain to be unpopular with Scotsmen, and calculated to vitally injure the Church.

James, after arranging for a meeting of the General Assembly, on the 4th August turned his back on his native kingdom, never to see it more. On his way south through Lancashire he was struck with the puritanical observance of Sunday, and concluded that this was the reason why the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in that district, refused to be converted from their creed. The king accordingly published his well-known "Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day," and caused it to be read in all the parish churches of Lancashire. Had archbishop Abbot not remonstrated it would have been read in all the churches of the kingdom. The king's action caused no little uneasiness to the puritans in Scotland, who had probably forgotten that John Knox greatly enjoyed a game at bowls on Sundays after sermon.[1] The king gave two reasons for his Book of Sports—the one that Roman priests might not have it in their power to say "that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion"; and the other, expressive of an argument often used in later years, that the repression of rational enjoyment on Sundays "in place thereof sets up filthy tipplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses."

The Assembly met at St. Andrews 25th November

[1] See Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 269, 270.

1617 under lord Binning, now earl of Haddington, as commissioner, to consider the articles proposed by the king. Some ministers craved delay that they might explain the changes to the people, others offered opposition on various grounds, and several withdrew from the meetings. The Assembly was out of humour, and nothing was done beyond agreeing to give private communion to the sick, and ordering the clergy to administer, with their own hands, the sacramental elements to the people. The report of the proceedings greatly displeased the king, and he relieved his mind by violent letters to the two archbishops, in which he said—"We are come to that age as we will not be content to be fed with broth, as one of your own coat was wont to speak, and think this your doing a disgrace no less than protestation itself. Wherefore it is our pleasure, and we command you, the one of you by your deputy in St. Andrews and by yourself in Edinburgh, and the other of you in Glasgow, keep Christmas Day precisely, yourselves preaching and choosing your texts according to the time. And likewise, that ye discharge all mollification of stipends for this year to any minister whatsoever, such excepted as have testified their affection to our service at this time, by furthering at their power the acceptation of the articles proposed." A postscript was added in the king's own hand to this effect—"Since your Scottish Church hath so far contemned my clemency, they shall now find what it is to draw the anger of a king upon them." Not much sympathy will be felt for the archbishops under the royal lash, but the attempt to punish the refractory ministers by withholding a portion of their stipends was as mean as it was cowardly. The bishops happily succeeded in changing the king's resolution as to the stipends.[1]

[1] *Original Letters, Reign of James Sixth*, ii. 520-526; Calderwood, vii.

Patrick Forbes, son of the laird of Corse in Aberdeenshire, became bishop of Aberdeen in 1618. He was a relative of Andrew Melville, studied under him in St. Andrews, and accompanied him to England during his temporary banishment in 1584. Forbes was ordained late in life, and became parish minister of Keith in 1611. In such high estimation was he held by the clergy and people of Aberdeen that they wished him for their bishop on the previous vacancy of the see. With much reluctance he accepted the office now, and was consecrated at St. Andrews by the primate in May 1618.[1]

Nothing more was done by the king for another year, during which he continued sulking by the Thames at the despite shown to him by the Assembly. The bishops were meanwhile busy in their diocesan synods, explaining the proposed Articles to the clergy, and gaining the consent of many who had at first opposed them. On the 25th August 1618 another Assembly—the last for twenty years to come—was held at Perth under the earl of Haddington as commissioner, the archbishop of St. Andrews presiding, and maintaining in spite of opposition his right to the chair as primate of the Church. There was the usual attendance of bishops, of ministers from each presbytery, of nobles, barons, and burgesses by commission from the burgh towns. The king's letter was read by Dr. Young, dean of Winchester, and it was as studiously Erastian and offensive as autocratic folly could make it. There was no abatement of his claim by prerogative to enforce the Articles, if so it had pleased his majesty; and he assured the Assembly that he would be

284-286; Spottiswoode, iii. 248-252.

[1] Calderwood has never a good word for a bishop, and even this estimable and scholarly man he describes as "a hypocrite," who accepted the bishopric "to repair his broken lairdship."—*History*, vii. 291-296.

satisfied with nothing less than a simple acceptance of the whole Articles. They were the same as he had proposed two years before. The 1st enjoined kneeling at the Holy Communion; the 2nd, private communion to the sick; the 3rd, private baptism in cases of necessity for children; the 4th, confirmation of the young; and the 5th, the religious observance of the days of Christ's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the sending down of the Holy Ghost. Three days' discussion was spent upon them, partly in private conference, and partly in the open Assembly. It was proposed to take them seriatim, but this was overruled, and the vote was taken on the acceptance or rejection of the Five Articles as they stood. Eighty-six members voted for their acceptance, including all the noblemen but one, the bishops, excepting those of Argyll and of the Isles, who were absent, all the barons, and commissioners of burghs and about forty ministers; one nobleman, lord Ochiltree, and forty ministers voted against them, and four declined to express an opinion. There was thus a majority altogether of two to one in favour of the Articles, while the ministerial vote was about equal. The Articles were ratified by the Scottish Privy Council on the 21st October following.[1]

The persecution of the Romanists continued almost to the end of James's reign, and became so persistent that the pope was asked to intervene in their behalf before they were driven to despair. Gilbert Brown, the last abbot of New Abbey, near Dumfries, was warded in Blackness, and afterwards banished; John Hamilton, a rector of Paris University, was seized in Scotland, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died in 1610; Robert

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 252-257; Calderwood, vii. 303-339; *Original Letters, James Sixth*, ii. 567-583. The records of this Perth Assembly perished in the burning of the House of Parliament in 1834.

Creighton was confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and sentenced to be hanged at the market cross ; but, after six months' imprisonment, his sentence was commuted to one of banishment for life. Two Scottish Jesuits, Anderson and Moffat, were treated in the same way. Papists and Puritans were the two religious classes for whom the king had no tolerance, and to whom he showed almost no mercy.[1]

In the year 1618, which witnessed the passing of the Perth Articles, the celebrated synod of Dort met in November to determine the controversies at issue between the Calvinists and Arminians.[2] It was attended by representatives of all the Reformed Churches on the Continent, excepting the French; and king James thought fit to send as delegates five divines, including Walter Balcanqual, son of the former Edinburgh minister of that name. Calvinism triumphed, and the tenets of the Arminians were condemned in five "articles"; but the decision in no way affected the British Churches except by occasioning the silly report, eagerly welcomed by a party in Scotland, that the synod had condemned the Five Articles of Perth.[3]

The ministers were required to read the Five Articles of Perth from the pulpit, and such of them as had opposed their passing refused to read or to observe them. In Edinburgh many of the protestant shopkeepers kept their booths open on Christmas Day, and numbers of the people, to gratify their preference for a sitting communion, flocked out of the city, where the ministers enforced kneeling, to the rural churches. This was repeated at Easter ; and, as usual, a war of pamphlets signalised the strife between sitters and kneelers. Calderwood, the historian,

[1] See Bellesheim, iii. 400-414.

[2] Arminius, the founder of the school (born 1560, died 1609), was from 1603 professor at Leyden.

[3] Dr. Wm. Cunningham, *Reformers and Theology of the Reformation*, pp. 367-369, 435 ; Spottiswoode, iii. 258 ; Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, i. 479, 480 ; Collier, vii. 408-416.

and Dr. David Lindsay, bishop of Brechin, entered the lists with heavier controversial works on opposite sides. Lord Haddington, writing to the king in March 1619, gives a favourable account of an Edinburgh communion of this period. He states that "the nobles, councillors, and sessioners came first to the Table, and all upon their knees received the elements from the ministers—Ramsay and Galloway,—who gave them to each with their own hands. Their example," he says, "was generally followed by the congregation, so that neither man nor woman, during the space of four hours, offered to receive the sacrament sitting, except one base fellow."[1]

Lord Haddington also reported to the king that the recusant ministers had resolved to disobey the Five Articles; and James, suspecting an attempt at organised opposition, summoned a meeting of the Three Estates—the last of his Scottish Parliaments—to give legal sanction to the Articles, and at the same time to provide a subsidy for the war into which he had been drawn in defence of his son-in-law, the Count Palatine. The Parliament met in Edinburgh, July 1621, with the marquis of Hamilton as royal commissioner, and, in a house unusually full, ratified the Perth Articles by 78 to 51 votes. This was the climax of the contest; but it did not silence the non-conforming ministers, whose opposition was still heard like the murmurs of a ground-swell after a storm at sea. Calderwood relates how a thunderstorm burst over the houses of Parliament on the last day of its sitting as the Articles were being signed, and he repeats the common cant of his party in the heading of a paragraph "God appeared angrie at the concluding of the Articles." The other side were ready with the retort, "that it was to be taken for an approbation from Heaven, likening the same to the

[1] *Original Letters, James Sixth's Reign*, anno 1619.

thunderings and lightnings at the giving of the law to Moses." A thunderstorm in Edinburgh at the beginning of August was not such an uncommon phenomenon as to warrant the assumed portents on either side.[1]

Another Dr. Forbes—one whom Charles I. subsequently raised to the new bishopric of Edinburgh—figures prominently in the year 1621. William Forbes was an Aberdonian born and bred. He was educated in the grammar school and in the Marischal College of Aberdeen, founded in 1593, and afterwards studied in several of the continental Universities, where he made the friendship of Grotius, Scaliger, and other distinguished scholars. He was offered the chair of Hebrew in Oxford, but declined it on account of his health.[2] He became successively minister of Alford, Monymusk, and St. Nicholas' church, Aberdeen, principal of Marischal College, and in 1621 one of four ministers added to the number already in Edinburgh. In the Perth Assembly he had taken a prominent part in defence of the Articles, and was recognised then as one of the ablest men on the side of Episcopacy. Forbes was both a learned divine and an eloquent preacher; but his high church principles provoked the opposition of his puritanic parishioners in Edinburgh. When the Town Council and kirk-session attempted to make inquisition, according to the usage of the time, into his doctrines and teaching, he caustically reprimanded them, and told their leader, William Rigg, a wealthy magistrate, that he had more need of catechising than to presume to catechise his teacher. Disorderly proceedings followed, and Rigg was warded in Blackness; but this was so little to the mind of Dr. Forbes that he

[1] Calderwood, vii. 488-505; Spottiswoode, iii. 261-263; *Original Letters*, ii. 656-662; *Acts Parl. Scot.* iv. 596, 597.

[2] Lippe's Introduction to Wodrow's Biographical Collections (New Spalding Club), pp. lxxii. *seq.*

resigned his charge and returned to Aberdeen, much to the satisfaction of its clergy and people. In a few years he was recalled to Edinburgh to fill—all too briefly—a more responsible position.[1]

The Presbyterians were now much weakened by the death, imprisonment, and exile of their leading ministers. James Melville died at Berwick in 1614; Walter Balcanqual in 1616; Andrew Melville at Sedan in 1622; and John Welch at London, in the same year. John Forbes, brother of Dr. Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen, was still in exile; Bruce was relegated to Inverness, and Calderwood, on being released from prison, lived stealthily in Scotland for a time, and then retired to Holland, where he wrote his controversial treatise, *Altare Damascenum*. This odious and discreditable system of persecution was one of the worst features of the ecclesiastical government of James. It should not be forgotten that the Scottish Church had retained within its bounds from the Reformation downwards men of two different schools, and that while each side struggled, and not always scrupulously, for mastery over the other, there was no actual separation into opposite camps until after the Revolution of 1688-1689. This has to be borne in mind in reading the history of the Scottish Church from the Reformation to the Revolution.

There is little to record in the closing years of James the Sixth's reign, excepting the occasional squabbles in several districts, south and west, touching compliance with the Perth Articles. The king's civil administration of Scotland, especially after his accession to the English throne, when he had the power to enforce the laws, was

[1] See Life of Bishop William Forbes, prefixed to his *Considerationes Modestæ*; Calderwood, vii. 516, 542, 571, 599-621; *Original Letters, Reign of James Sixth*, ii. 589, 634; Spottiswoode, iii. 268, 269.

marked by commendable sense and vigour, and brought order and prosperity to a kingdom too long distracted by contending factions. The same commendation cannot be bestowed upon his ecclesiastical policy, which was about as unwise and injurious as his imperious conceit and self-will could make it.

James died at his manor of Theobald on 27th March 1625. Spottiswoode relates the edifying scenes of his death-bed, and how he received much comfort from the reception of the holy communion, which Calderwood describes as "his viaticum after the English fashion." The two historians close their record with the death of king James, and nothing in their histories marks the difference between the two men and their respective attitudes so much as their narratives of the closing scene. Spottiswoode discredits his historic judgment by a fulsome eulogy of James as "the Solomon of this age," and Calderwood equally discredits himself by bitter rancour, raking up all the vile scandal of the time, and making of it a funeral pile for the reputation of James the Sixth and First.[1]

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 270, 271; Calderwood, vii. 632-638. Bellesheim, iii. 439, describes "the poltroonery and dissimulation so strangely blended in the monarch's character," and the selfish expediency which formed the rule of his conduct. In the Appendix, p. 497, he reproduces a contemporary estimate of the king's character, noting, among other things, his growing tendency to drunkenness, altogether a far from pleasing picture of the pedant king.

# CHAPTER XI

## CHARLES I.—FROM HIS ACCESSION, 1625, TO THE INTRODUCTION OF CANONS AND ORDINAL, 1636

King's accession and marriage—Provides stipends to bishops and ministers—Calls on nobles to restore Church lands—Settlement of teinds and of parish schools by the king—New bishops—King's purpose to restore cathedrals of Iona and St. Andrews—Religious "revival" at Stewarton under Dickson, the minister—King visits Scotland in 1633—Crowned at Holyrood—Bishop Laud—Parliament confirms Episcopal government and worship—Earl of Rothes challenges the vote—Laud's sermon—Laud visits Dunblane—"Humble supplication" to king involves lord Balmerino—His trial, condemnation, and reprieve—King on return to London orders Scottish bishops and clergy to wear vestments—Erection of bishopric of Edinburgh and its first bishop, Dr. William Forbes—St. Giles' made the cathedral—Death of Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen—His services to the University and diocese—Bishops Wedderburn of Dunblane and Maxwell of Ross—Archbishop Spottiswoode chancellor in 1635—Grounds of dissatisfaction with the appointment—King's impolitic measures—Imposing the Canons and the Ordinal, 1636—Bishop Boyd of Argyll—Samuel Rutherford relegated to Aberdeenshire—the Aberdeen "Doctors."

CHARLES I. was proclaimed king of Scotland at the cross of Edinburgh on the 31st March 1625. After the fruitless wooing of the Infanta of Spain, a marriage was arranged in 1624 between Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII., king of France. A few months after his accession she became his wife. The marriage contract stipulated that the queen should have the free exercise of her religion as a Roman Catholic, with a bishop and

priests of her own faith, and the education of her children until they were thirteen years of age. The conditions were much canvassed at the time, the last proviso being specially objected to, and with good reason, as the sequel showed.[1]

The king completed his father's arrangements for dividing Edinburgh into four parishes, with two ministers to each, to be chosen not by the people, but by the Town Council. He would not tolerate the custom of the people's trying and censuring their ministers; and when the magistrates represented that it had prevailed from the Reformation, and been enjoined by the superintendents, Charles answered—"The narrative, if it be true, showeth what a Reformation that was, and how evil advised; yet we believe not that either superintendent or minister would ever subject their doctrine to the trial of the popular voice. This is an Anabaptistical frenzy."[2]

Many of the ministers, and chiefly those who had been admitted before the Perth Assembly, had scruples about the Five Articles, and the king, in July 1626, considerately advised the bishops not to enforce them. The ministers who had been banished or imprisoned were also to be restored without compliance with the Articles, provided they did not actively oppose them; but ministers admitted in recent years were required to observe them. The king further urged upon the bishops the weekly catechising of the people by the ministers, and the establishment of schools in every parish, an instruction which was made effective a few years afterwards.[3]

[1] John Row, the historian of "the Kirk," reflects the mind of his school upon the marriage and its stipulations. "It is very remarkable that the queen's mass, the pest of the soul, and a most raging pestilence killing bodies, came to London together. Oh that men had eyes in their heads to see, and hearts to consider the Lord's ways."—*Hist.* p. 339.

[2] *Original Letters, James Sixth's Reign*, ii. 780-791.

[3] Balfour, *Works*, ii. 142-145.

Charles continued his father's policy in making more suitable provision for the incomes of the bishops and ministers. The ministers from 1560 downwards had sent forth "a steady wail of poverty." The evil was partly remedied by James's legislation, which considerably increased their stipends, and king Charles helped them still further by securing them the teinds or tithes which made their position independent. Some of the bishops had also profited by the liberality of James, who had purchased for their sees with his own money portions of the alienated Church lands; but the majority of them were still without adequate maintenance. Their beggarly condition might at least have saved them from the reproach of sordid motives for accepting their office. Burton makes in detail "sordid exposures"[1] of the robbery of the Church lands by the Scottish nobles and gentry, and remarks upon the mercenary considerations which influenced their conduct in the civil war that was impending. "If there were no better reason," he says, "for hunting out and exposing to view all these small items of personal history, something might be said for them as revelations of the social condition and character of the times. They have a broader political bearing, however, though it is not likely to be well seen by those who have not studied the events of a period thirty years later. What we have to carry out of the whole selfish and cunning struggle is the determined pertinacity of the hold maintained by powerful men in Scotland over the revenues of the old Church. In the separate battles in which, by a combination of craft and force, each individual holder baffled the Government in its attempts to endow the new hierarchy, we see the training of those who were getting ready to show a combined front

[1] From *Original Letters* (Bannatyne Club), cited by Burton, v. 446-461.

against any national measure likely to assail their personal interests."[1]

Scotland had not to wait long for the measure which disturbed the serenity of the possessors of Church lands. In November 1625 proclamation was made in Edinburgh of a general revocation by the new king of all ecclesiastical grants by the Crown, or acquisitions made in prejudice thereof, teinds included, both before and after the Annexation Act of 1587. Charles maintained that the Church lands were attached to ecclesiastical offices for duties done, and that the possession of them by laymen who were incapable of discharging these duties was distinctly illegal; and further, that as the Crown had actively aided or connived at the transference of the property, so the Crown had an equal right now to do justice and give every man his due. If this view had been enforced seventy years before, neither the equity nor the propriety of the claim could reasonably have been disputed; but after the possession of two generations the king's edict came too late. What it did was to weld together the nobles who were enriched by Church spoils in a determined opposition to the ecclesiastical policy of Charles. It was virtually the first act in the contest which led to open war twelve years afterwards, and it united nobles and Presbyterians in a common opposition to the Crown. In pursuance of the king's policy, lord Nithsdale was commissioned in 1628 to deal with the chief impropriators for a gratuitous surrender of the Church lands; but he met with so much opposition, and even threats of personal violence, that he speedily returned to Court.[2]

The king met with more success in augmenting the ministers' stipends by means of the teinds. Hitherto the ministers had been paid out of the thirds of the old Church

[1] Burton, *Hist. Scot.* v. 461. [2] Burnet's *History*, i. 34, 35.

lands, and paid very badly, from the niggardliness of the lay impropriators, though the tithes were now more rigidly exacted by their new lay-owners than by the parsons of old. After a long process it was agreed in 1629 that the tithe should be commuted—that each heritor should have the option of commuting the tithe at the value of a fifth part of the rental of the land, the tenth of the produce being held to be, on an average, twice the amount of a tenth of the rent. Out of this commuted tithe, according to the valuation then made, the minister was to be paid his stipend, with a further possible claim upon the overplus of the valued teind beyond the stipend then awarded to him. This arrangement, confirmed by the Scots Parliament in 1633, continues to the present day.[1] The decreit on the teinds declares "that it is necessary and expedient for the public welfare and peace of this our ancient kingdom, and for the better providing of kirks and ministers' stipends, and for the establishing of schools and other pious uses, that each heritor have and enjoy his own teinds."[2]

Schools were embraced in the benevolent policy of the king, and steps were taken at this time to secure a school for every parish. Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the Assembly of 1616, had moved for grammar schools in convenient centres, and the Assembly's Act was ratified by the Privy Council in the same year, "that in every parish in this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established." The loophole in this enactment was found in the clause touching the "convenient means," the lay impropriators seldom finding it convenient to supply the means for schools and

[1] Claims are still made and freely allowed on the unexhausted teinds or portion in the proprietor's hand after paying the minister's stipend.

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.* v. 189-207, 218, 219; Cook, ii. 330-332.

teachers. The Parliament of 1633 went a step farther, by a fresh Act ordering a school to be built in each parish, and the bishops and clergy were actively promoting the building and endowment of schools when the civil war broke out. If all the legislation of Charles I. had been on similar lines he would have left behind him a more grateful memory in his native country. But the good that men do is readily forgotten, while the evil that they do, albeit unwittingly, cleaves to their memory. So has it been with king Charles.

Law, archbishop of Glasgow, died in 1632, and was succeeded by Patrick Lindsay, bishop of Ross. As with many other bishops of this age there was nothing noteworthy in the character or career of either. Lindsay was succeeded in Ross by John Maxwell, minister in Edinburgh, who is more worthy of note as the joint-compiler with Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, of the ill-fated Service Book of 1637.

On the translation of Dr. Leslie from the bishopric of the Isles to that of Raphoe in 1638, Neil Campbell, son of a former bishop of Argyll of that name, was appointed his successor. During his episcopate the king made proposals for the restoration of the cathedral in Iona; and his majesty is also credited with having contemplated a more serious undertaking, namely, the restoration of Scotland's greatest cathedral, the ruined shrine of St. Andrews. Both projects were frustrated by the breaking out of the rebellion, and the two cathedrals still lie in ruins as monuments of the Reformers' zeal.[1]

Two eminent Presbyterian ministers, frequently men-

[1] *Original Letters, Reign of James Sixth*, pref. p. xlii.; Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 308-310 and 202, 264, 265; Balfour, ii. 192. The king ordered the bishop of Raphoe to restore to bishop Campbell two bells which Andrew Knox, formerly bishop of the Isles, had carried with him from Iona to Raphoe.

tioned, and both bearing the marks of confessors of their faith, died at this time—Bruce in 1631 and John Forbes, in Holland, about 1634.[1] The Presbyterians in these years had few distinguished divines; but new men were coming to the front to maintain their traditions and to fight the old fight under new phases. Prominent among these was David Dickson, minister at Irvine, who possessed singular powers of persuasive reasoning and was the instrument of a widespread revival in Ayrshire. For his opposition to the Perth Articles he had been relegated north to Turriff, but was soon restored to his congregation by the influence of the earl of Eglinton. Dickson preached on Sundays and week days, and the revival spread to the neighbouring towns of Stewarton and Shotts. The religious enthusiasm received from opponents the name of "the Stewarton sickness," and its devotees were known as "the daft folk of Stewarton." The excitement culminated at a communion in Shotts in June 1630, where Dickson was joined by two ministers, Robert Blair and John Livingstone, who, after chequered careers in the north of Ireland, settled in their native country and became leaders in the Presbyterian cause.[2]

The long-promised visit of king Charles to Scotland was paid in the summer of 1633. He was attended by a numerous retinue of nobles and gentlemen, English and Scottish; and in his train were also Dr. Laud, now bishop of London, and Dr. White, bishop of Ely. The king arrived in Edinburgh on Saturday the 15th June, and next day he attended service in the chapel royal, Holyrood, where the bishop of Dunblane preached. On the Tuesday following the king was crowned with much

[1] Wodrow's *Life of Bruce*, p. 140; M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, ii. 448.

[2] See Lives of Dickson, Blair, and Livingstone, edited by the Wodrow Society, and bishop Mant's *Hist. Ch. Ireland*, i. 453.

solemnity in the Abbey Church, by archbishop Spottiswoode. The ceremony concluded with a celebration of the Eucharist, and the king received the communion with marked reverence.[1]

Parliament met on the 19th June, and passed many Acts, only two of which affected the Church; the one extending the king's prerogative over all causes spiritual and temporal, the other confirming the government and worship of the Church as it then was in Scotland. The second passed without opposition; the first was opposed by lord Rothes and several other members, who suspected that the king intended to impose not only the surplice but the whole Anglican ritual. On this point Scotsmen of all grades were keenly sensitive, dreading the idea of the nation being reduced to an English province, and the Church becoming a mere pendicle of the Anglican establishment. While the vote was being taken the king was busy marking on a roll of membership the suffrage of each individual. This occupation, peculiar for a king, led to his being afterwards accused, but without satisfactory proof, of falsifying the return. The Clerk-Register declared that the majority was in favour of the Act, but Rothes challenged the return, affirming that it was the other way. Charles answered him that he must make good his challenge under the penalty of treason—a risk which the earl declined to run.[2]

During the month of June the king attended services

[1] Balfour's *Works*, iii. 199 and iv. 354 *seq.* Balfour was present as lord Lion King-at-Arms.

[2] *Acts of Parl. Scot.* v. 20, 21; Kirkton's *Hist.* p. 29. Row, *Hist.* p. 367, states that the votes were equal and that the king opposed all inquiry. Burnet, *Hist.* i. 36, 37, asserts that the majority was adverse, and that the king, though aware of this, forbade the Clerk-Register to be questioned on the subject unless those who challenged the vote were prepared to prove that the return was falsified. Napier, in his *Life of Montrose and the Covenanters*, i. 525, 526, shows that Burnet's version of the story is groundless. See also the *Large Declaration*, p. 12.

both in St. Giles' and in the chapel royal, where the surplice and the English Prayer Book were used. Laud preached in the chapel "upon the benefit of conformity and the reverent ceremonies of the Church, and was received," writes Clarendon, "with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable."[1] Guthrie, bishop of Moray, wearing his rochet, preached in St. Giles' before the king, and gave much offence to the Edinburgh puritans, who had been accustomed to see him in the black gown when he was one of their city ministers. It was the first act in "the war of the whites," as the contest between surplice and gown came to be called.[2]

The king, in the beginning of July, extended his journey to Perth, and Dr. Laud paid a visit to the ruined cathedrals of Dunblane and St. Andrews. He remarked that the former was a goodly church, but when a bystander added—"Yes, my lord, this was a brave kirk before the Reformation," the bishop at once corrected him—"What, fellow, Deformation, not Reformation!"[3] Charles returned to England in the middle of July, and shortly afterwards, on the death of Dr. Abbot, Laud became archbishop of Canterbury.

A "Humble Supplication" had been prepared by nobles and commissioners for presentation to the king, which referred to the "tacking" together of measures in the late Parliament so as to compel the vote either for the acceptance or rejection of both, and also to the king's attendance and taking notes. It was a delicate subject to handle, but the supplicants did it with due respect, and their petition did not deserve to be described, as it was in the indictment, as a "scandalous, odious, and seditious libel." Rothes was to have presented it to the king at

[1] *History*, i. 147. [2] Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 39.
[3] Row's *History*, pp. 363, 369.

Dalkeith, but when he spoke of it to Charles, the king warned him of the risk he was running and said testily to the earl—"No more of this, my lord, I command you." Rothes accordingly returned the paper to lord Balmerino, and a year afterwards a copy of it fell into the hands of Spottiswoode, who gave it to the king. The result was that Balmerino was imprisoned, indicted on a charge of "leasing," and tried by a jury, who, by eight votes to seven, pronounced him guilty. He was condemned to death, but popular sympathy ran so strongly in his favour that the royal clemency was extended and Balmerino saved from the scaffold. The whole black business made him the king's relentless enemy to the end.[1] Bishop Burnet, in his *Summary of the Affairs of Scotland*, says that his father attributed the ruin of the king's cause in Scotland in great measure to Balmerino's prosecution.

One of the first acts of Charles after his departure was to issue a warrant directing the bishops to wear their rochets in all church services, and to "sit in their whites" in the Privy Council and Session. The other clergy were ordered to preach in their black gowns, and to use the surplice in all other acts of their office. It was easier for the king to issue mandates in London than it was for Scottish bishops and clergy to execute them in Glasgow or Edinburgh.[2]

The erection of the bishopric of Edinburgh is due to the visit of Charles to Scotland. The charter, dated the 29th September 1633, narrates that the king, at the request of the archbishop of St. Andrews, had established the new diocese "for the glory of God and the good of His Church in his ancient and native kingdom." The new see comprised the eastern district, from the Forth

[1] *State Trials*, iii. 597, 598, 629; Row's *Hist.* 376, 381.
[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.* v. 21.

to the Tweed, which was formerly the archdeaconry of Lothian, in the diocese of St. Andrews. St. Giles' was made the cathedral church, and the unseemly partitions, erected fifty years before, to divide nave from chancel into the great and little kirks, were removed.[1] Dr. William Forbes, already mentioned as a former minister in Edinburgh, was nominated by the king to the bishopric. Having preached before Charles with much acceptance, his eloquence and learning decided his promotion. He was consecrated in the chapel royal, Holyrood, in February 1634, but survived his consecration only a short three months. The loss of such a man in those critical times was a great misfortune to the Church, as his counsels might have averted some of the ill-advised proceedings which precipitated the civil war.[2] Bishop Burnet was no admirer of the ecclesiastical policy of Charles and Laud, and the tribute he pays to the character of bishop Forbes is all the more meritorious. "William Forbes," he writes, "was promoted by the late king while he was in Scotland, who said on good ground that he had found out a bishop that deserved that a see should be made for him. He was a grave and eminent divine; my father that knew him long, and being of counsel for him in his law matters had occasion to know him well, has often told me that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on these words of the Apostle, 'Did not our hearts burn within us while He yet talked with us and opened to us the Scriptures'?"[3]

[1] Row, in his *History*, p. 370, says of the demolition of the partitions: "Neither ministers nor magistrates in Edinburgh did show tokens of grief and sorrow for this; but many good Christians both in Edinburgh and in the country, did heavily complain of it to God."

[2] In Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 44-60, the charter of erection is given at length. See also Row, pp. 369, 370.

[3] Preface to Burnet's *Life of Bishop Bedell and History of his own Times*,

The successor of bishop William Forbes was Dr. Lindsay, translated from the see of Brechin; and Sydserf, dean of Edinburgh, became bishop of Brechin, to be translated in the following year to Galloway. In 1635 died Patrick Forbes, the active and judicious bishop of Aberdeen, a diligent preacher and a wise administrator of his diocese. As chancellor of the University of Aberdeen he was virtually a second founder, raising its reputation, and restoring its fortunes both by personal service and by the selection of learned men for its professors. The primate Spottiswoode lamented him greatly, and wrote to his son, Dr. John Forbes—"Every man can speak of that he hath known and seen; and for myself I speak truth—so wise, judicious, so grave and graceful a pastor I have not known in all my time in any Church."[1]

The see of Aberdeen was filled by Adam Bellenden, translated from Dunblane. From a letter of Laud to Bellenden it appears that the bishop had expected to succeed Dr. Forbes in the see of Edinburgh, and that the king, or more probably Laud himself, had passed him over from dissatisfaction with his conduct in a theological dispute on the Atonement, in which bishop Forbes had acted as moderator. Bellenden was cautioned by Laud to be more careful, "lest he gave just occasion to the king to pass him by when any other remove falls." He evidently acted upon the primate's suggestion, and at the next remove he was not passed by.[2] From the corre-

i. 38. See Life of Bishop William Forbes prefixed to his work, *Considerationes Modestæ;* Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, p. 20, and Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, iii. 235-237; Wodrow's Biographical Collections, pp. lxxii. and 245 *seq.* N.S.C.

[1] *Funerals of Bishop Patrick Forbes* (Spottiswoode Society), pp. 217, 218.

[2] Heylin, in his *Life of Laud*, lib. iv. p. 49, says Bellenden was removed from Dunblane for his negligence in the use of the Prayer Book in the chapel royal—he being dean of the chapel.

spondence of Laud with the Scottish bishops, it is easy to understand how difficult it was for them to act with a proper spirit of independence, unless they had been men of heroic mould, and, so far as history shows, the bishops by royal prerogative were not as a body men of that stamp.[1] James Wedderburn, formerly professor of divinity at St. Andrews, and now a prebendary of Ely, succeeded to Dunblane. He had the reputation of scholarship, and along with Maxwell, bishop of Ross, assisted in the compilation of the Scottish Prayer Book, which appeared and disappeared in 1637.[2]

On the death of the earl of Kinnoul, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop Spottiswoode was elevated to that office in 1635. Apart from the question of the primate's qualifications, the appointment itself was singularly injudicious. No ecclesiastic had held the office since the Reformation, and public opinion had long been adverse to the union of legal and ecclesiastical offices. If a minister of religion had been necessary for the office, probably no man in Scotland had better qualifications for it than Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, "upon whom," says bishop Guthrie,[3] "all the ministry of that judgment depended; and no wonder, for in gravity, learning, wisdom, and state policy, he far exceeded any of them." The Presbyterians, however, had consistently forbidden ministers to act as judges in the Court of Session, or as members of Parliament; and the elevation of Spottiswoode naturally deepened their aversion to Episcopacy. The nobility were not less displeased. They were jealous of the prelatic hierarchy; and the recent attempt of the king to recover the bishops' lands, coupled

[1] See Hailes's *Memorials;* and *Letters, Charles I.* 6-16, cited by Burton, vi. 102.

[2] Row, pp. 375, 388.

[3] *Memoirs*, pp. 24, 25.

with his now conferring on the primate an office which belonged, as they thought, to their own order, increased their disaffection to both the Crown and the Church.[1]

As the crisis approached which issued in the Great Rebellion, one arbitrary measure followed another in the affairs of the Scottish Church. Charles no doubt acted from higher principles than his father in his advocacy of Episcopacy; but while he had a deeper sense of religion, he had less of the political instinct that knows when to yield to popular feeling. James professed and preferred Episcopacy before he left Scotland, and after his residence in England he strenuously defended it; but still his ecclesiastical policy was largely influenced by political considerations. To his mind Episcopacy was favourable to monarchical government, and Presbytery very much the reverse. Less politic than his father, though a much better man, Charles looked neither to right nor left while pursuing his scheme of levelling up the Scottish Church on a line with the Anglican. Episcopacy was of the essence of his faith, a reverent ritual suited his devotional instinct; and his subjects, so he thought, ought to believe as he believed, and to worship as he worshipped. That was the Tudor idea, and Charles was a Tudor by descent as well as a Stuart. Had he inherited more of the wisdom of the serpent, or been guided by counsellors who possessed it, his hands would have been stayed from the dictatorial and impolitic measures which wrecked Episcopacy in Scotland, and ultimately cost him both his crown and his life.

First came the Book of Canons in 1636, and later in the same year the Ordinal; both being followed next year by the Service Book. The Ordinal, or "Book of Ordination," has dropped out of literature and history, no copy

[1] Balfour, ii. 222; *Original Letters, Reign of James Sixth*, ii. 690.

of it in print being known to exist.[1] The canons soon passed into oblivion, and have little present-day interest except for the antiquary. In the Aberdeen Assembly of 1616 it had been resolved to compile a book of canons from the decrees of former Assemblies and of the early councils; but the canons of 1636 were a different creation. They were drawn up in nineteen chapters, and in the forefront stood the royal prerogative claiming "the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors in the primitive Church." This was followed by a reference to the Book of Common Prayer, not yet published; and any one disputing the orthodoxy of this unseen book was liable to excommunication. Deacons and Presbyters—the former being at least twenty-one years of age, and the latter twenty-five—were to be ordained at four prescribed seasons. Divine service was to be performed according to the Book of Common Prayer; no layman was to administer the sacraments, and the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated four times a year, of which Easter was to be one; diocesan synods were to be held twice a year, and secret conventicles were forbidden; no presbyter or preacher was to use extempore prayer under pain of deprivation; fasts were not to be held without consent of the Ordinary, and never on a Sunday; each parish was to provide a Bible and Prayer Book, and in each church there was to be a font placed near the door, and a decent table for Holy Communion at the upper end of the chancel, with proper vessels for the celebration; bishops and clergy without families were at their death to leave their property to the Church, and those who had families were required to leave something to show their goodwill.[2]

[1] Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, ii. 105, note.

[2] The Bible to be used was what is known as "the Authorised Version"

The contents of the canons are of less historic interest now than the source from which they emanated, and the authority by which they were imposed. They were revised by archbishop Laud, and bishop Juxon of London; but they were not submitted to any council of the Scottish Church, which was no more consulted than an African tribe would be to-day by a body of foreign missionaries engaged in their conversion. They were issued on the king's sole authority, as much so as if they had been penned by his own hand, and despatched to Scotland by his envoy from Whitehall. In this respect they stand unique among the ecclesiastical laws of Christendom. The English canons of 1604 were no doubt the models of these canons of 1636; but the English canons declare in their title that they were "Agreed upon by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and published under the Great Seal of England." No such respect was paid to the Scottish Church; and the bishops were driven into the humiliating position of imposing upon their clergy, and in a measure upon the laity, a code of canons concerning which neither clergy nor laity had ever been consulted. So the national exasperation was deepened until at the next stage it broke out into open revolt.[1]

A bishop honoured in his day, and for many years after his death, was Andrew Boyd of Argyll, who died at the close of 1636. Burnet gives the following description of his character, which suggests the reflection that the prelates of that age were not all bishop Boyds: "He

of 1611. It never was authorised in Scotland except by these canons, and so possesses no other authority north of the Tweed than use and wont. The Prayer Book was in preparation, and appeared next year. For the Canons see Grub, ii. 362-368; Cook, ii. 358-364.

[1] Contemporary churchmen and royalists, both English and Scottish, such as Heylin and Gordon, the parson of Rothiemay, alike condemn the unconstitutional way in which the canons were imposed. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, lib. iv. pp. 33-35 (Dublin, 1719), and Gordon's *History Scots Affairs*, ii. 92 (Spalding Club).

found his diocese overrun with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the name of Christ was not known ; but he went about that apostolic work of planting the Gospel with a particular industry, and almost with equal success. He got churches and schools to be raised and endowed everywhere, and lived to see a great blessing on his endeavours ; so that he is not so much as named in that country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are otherwise no way equitable to that order. The only answer that our angry people in Scotland used to make, when they were pressed with such instances was, that there were too few of them ; but some of the severest of them have owned to me that if there were many such bishops they would all be Episcopal."[1] The successor to Boyd was Fairley, an Edinburgh minister, and his consecration (8th August 1637) was the last that took place in Scotland until after the Restoration.

Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth in Galloway, got into trouble in 1636 with bishop Sydserf. Rutherford possessed exceptional gifts as preacher and scholar, was highly popular in his district, and of much influence among ladies of rank, with whom he frequently corresponded. In later years he became the favoured son of the Covenant, and is generally regarded as the best representative of its type of piety. His bishop, Sydserf, could not persuade him to submit to the ecclesiastical laws, and he delated him to the High Commission in Edinburgh, which severed him from his southern parish and banished him to Aberdeenshire. Here he found leisure to write to his female friends the remarkable series of letters on religion which have preserved his name more than any of his other works. The letters are of an ecstatic order, and not free from the extravagancies that

[1] Preface to *Life of Bedell*, and Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 291.

have characterised later "revival" literature. In company with Dickson and Henderson (a greater man than either), Rutherford stood in the front rank of the new Presbyterian leaders.[1]

Rutherford, from his northern retreat, reports to an Irish correspondent, in the beginning of 1637, the news of the coming Liturgy. "Our Service Book," he writes, "is ordained by open proclamation and sound of trumpet to be read in all the kirks of this kingdom. Our prelates are to meet this month for it and our canons, and for a reconciliation between us and the Lutherans. The professors of Aberdeen are charged to draw up the articles of an uniform confession, but reconciliation with popery is intended."[2] Baillie takes a more charitable view of this endeavour after union with the Lutherans, and commends the prudence of archbishop Spottiswoode in the negotiations.[3]

The professors referred to by Rutherford were the famous "Doctors of Aberdeen," who earned a reputation beyond their own country for their remarkable erudition. Foremost "in the oat-fed phalanx" was Dr. John Forbes, second son of bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, and professor of divinity in King's college of that town; next to him in learning was Dr. Baron, who held the corresponding chair in Marischal college; Dr. Leslie, principal of King's college; Dr. Scroggie, minister of the cathedral church of St. Machar; Dr. Sibbald, minister of St. Nicholas' church, and Dr. Ross his colleague. Dr. Forbes was the author, among other writings, of a work described

[1] Row, pp. 396, 397; Select Biographies, Wodrow Soc. i. 320, 321. Rutherford was elected professor of Humanity in Edinburgh University in 1623, and resigned in 1625 on account of some scandal about an "irregular marriage." See Dalziel's *Hist. of University*, ii. 79, 84.

[2] Rutherford's *Letters*, p. 362.

[3] Baillie, i. 9, 10; Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, pp. 28, 29.

as an "Irenicum, a peace-offering to all lovers of truth and peace in the Scottish Church." Archbishop Ussher complimented the author as a second Irenæus labouring, like the good bishop of Lyons, to appease strife among brethren. The effort of the Aberdeen doctors to restore concord among the continental Protestants was their last united work, the triumph of the Presbyterians in the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 leading to the breaking up of the northern school of Divinity, and the dispersion of the doctors.[1]

[1] Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, iii. 209-236 *passim*; Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, pp. 6-16; Grub, ii. 371-374.

## CHAPTER XII

### CHARLES I.—YEARS 1637 AND 1638—INTRODUCTION OF LITURGY AND DISESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY BY GLASGOW ASSEMBLY

Scottish Church never without a Liturgy—Liturgies before 1637—History of "Laud's Liturgy"—Its character and contents—Introduction of, in July 1637—Reasons for opposition to—Riot in St. Giles'—The promoters of the riot—The mythical Jenny Geddes—Disturbance in Glasgow over Liturgy—Petitions against the Liturgy—Fresh riot in Edinburgh—The "Tables"—Their action—The National Covenant signed—Criticism of the Covenant—Demands of "Covenanters"—City of Aberdeen and the Covenant—Aberdeen "Doctors" oppose it—King sanctions his father's Negative Confession—Two intermediary episodes—Preparations for Glasgow Assembly—Aim of Covenanters—Libel against the bishops—Meeting of Assembly in Glasgow Cathedral 1638—Its proceedings—Commissioner dissolves Assembly—It sits notwithstanding, rescinds the Acts of six previous Assemblies, condemns and deposes the bishops, abolishes Episcopacy and requests the king's approval of its proceedings.

BEFORE entering on the troubled sea of 1637 in which "Laud's Liturgy" was shipwrecked, the fact may be recalled that Scotland had never been without a Prayer Book in all its ecclesiastical history. The Celtic Liturgy of the first Christian age was succeeded by the Sarum Missal, and the Missal by the English Book of Common Prayer, and Knox's Book of Common Order. The Assemblies of 1601 and 1616 tried their hands on a revision of Knox's Book, and Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in vain tried his. Robert Bruce, when in exile

at Inverness, used it in his congregation, and Scrymgeour did the same, as he confessed when indicted before the High Commission in 1620. Bishop Sage relates that many old people he knew remembered its being used by both Presbyterians and Episcopalians after the civil wars.[1]

James had resolved upon having a new liturgy in Scotland, and a form of service which has been described as "a cross betwixt the English liturgy and that of Knox," was drafted by his desire, but the opposition to the Perth Articles warned him to proceed no farther in that direction, and the project was dropped.[2] Charles ventured upon the same enterprise with more zeal and less discretion. It would appear that still another liturgy had been drafted in Scotland and signed by the king 28th September 1634, and after having been altered by Laud and partly printed, was suppressed.[3] The issue now raised was, therefore, not between a service book and extempore prayer, but between one book and another, and there is no reason for believing that a liturgy — not perhaps Charles's book and certainly not introduced in Charles's way—but a book better adapted for worship than Knox's, would have proved unacceptable to the majority of the Scottish people.

In the preparatory discussions about the service book the king and Laud were strongly in favour of the Scottish Church adopting the English Prayer Book, that there might be one liturgy and one Church for the three kingdoms. The proposal was plausible, but it made no allowance for national diversities, and it entirely over-

[1] Calderwood, vii. 421; Row's *History*, p. 408; Sage's *Charter of Presbytery*, p. 352.

[2] Sprott's *Introduction to Scottish Liturgies in Reign of James VI.*, pp. lxxi. lxxii.

[3] *Ibid.* p. lxiii.; Burton, vi. 129, 130; Prynne's *Hidden Works*, p. 156.

looked the jealousy of the Scottish people in their relations to England, "the predominant partner." At last, the king and Laud gave way to the representations of the Scottish prelates in favour of a separate service book.[1] Maxwell and Wedderburn, the bishops of Ross and Dunblane, were entrusted with the drafting of the liturgy, and it was then submitted for revision to archbishop Laud, Juxon, bishop of London, and Wren, bishop of Norwich. Laud stated honestly how much opposed he was to a separate liturgy, but having yielded the point he gave all the help that he could in its compilation. This is very true, and the Service Book, where it differs from the English Prayer Book, chiefly in the Communion Office, bears so unmistakably the impress of Laud's hand that the popular description of it as "Laud's liturgy" is by no means inaccurate.[2]

The representations of the liturgy, still current in some quarters, as the Anglican liturgy tinctured with a strong flavour of popery, proceed from an inveterate confusion between what is Catholic and what is Roman, and from want of familiarity with the liturgies of the Primitive Church. Dean Stanley maintains[3] that the structure of the Communion Office of 1637, which has been specially charged with Roman teaching, places it and the American Prayer Book, "contrary to the usual opinion entertained of them . . ., in the foremost rank of Protestant forms of devotion."[4] Protestant it certainly was against Roman error, and yet distinctively Catholic in its teaching of primitive truth. In the calendar were inserted by the king's desire the names of several Celtic and Scottish saints,—David, Kentigern, Colman, Gilbert,

[1] Heylin, *Life of Laud*, lib. iv. p. 49, "the book being first hammered and prepared in Scotland."

[2] Sprott in his *Liturgies of James Sixth's Reign* has made this clear.

[3] *Christian Institutions*, p. 76.

[4] See also, Stanley's *Church of Scotland*, p. 43.

Columba, Palladius, Ninian, Adamnan, queen Margaret of Scotland, and not omitting, said the king, St. George the patron of England, and St. Patrick of Ireland.[1] The lessons from the Apocrypha were limited to a few chapters from the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. The sentences from the Apocrypha disappear from the offertory, and in Morning Prayer the twenty-third Psalm is substituted for the Benedicite. In the Eucharistic Office, or Liturgy proper, the word Presbyter (Adamnan's name for the celebrant in the days of St. Columba) is invariably used. There is a fuller commemoration of the faithful departed in the Church Militant prayer than in the English Liturgy, and both the Invocation and Oblation find a place in the Office. In the administration of the sacrament only the first part of the sentence addressed to the communicant in the English Book was directed to be used, as was the case in the First Book of Edward VI.

Probably the most offensive part of the service book was the royal proclamation, dated 20th December 1636, printed at the beginning, and commanded to be read by the civil officers of State at the market crosses of all the burgh towns in Scotland. Such a method of introducing a national Liturgy into a national Church was unknown in history, and was more likely to form a warning than a precedent. Charles and his adviser Laud were alike infatuated, but there is reason to suspect that they were encouraged by the sinister advice of political leaders in Scotland, who could foresee that a crisis was impending, and who were not above using this device to accelerate it.[2] Guthrie reports that the bishops were a house divided against itself, the younger urging the introduction of the Liturgy, the elder advocating delay and some regard

[1] Heylin, p. 50. [2] Burton, vi. 146.

to constitutional methods of procedure.[1] This is very doubtful. What is more certain is that the noblemen, who afterwards figured as leaders in the rebellion, were working on opposite lines from the bishops and aiming at the overthrow of the episcopal order. How far the bishops unconsciously strengthened their hands by their unwisdom, and by the prelatic ambition of which they were freely accused, it is impossible now to say. Probably in the eyes of their accusers the worst fault of some of them was that they were bishops.

The service book was to have been introduced at Easter 1637, but for some reason not explained it was withheld until July. Intimation was made in the several churches of Edinburgh on Sunday the 16th July that the liturgy would be used on the following Sunday, the Seventh after Trinity. To give *eclât* to the occasion, the two archbishops, the bishop of Edinburgh, and other prelates, with the lords of the Privy Council, the judges of the supreme court, and the magistrates of the city, attended the cathedral church of St. Giles. The service from Knox's Book had been used at an earlier hour; but no sooner had dean Hannay, vested in surplice, begun the new liturgy than a clamour arose in the congregation, which increased as the dean proceeded and ended in open disorder and acts of violence. Books and other missiles were thrown, and when the bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach, went into the pulpit to rebuke the disturbers and restore order, he was assailed with a stool which narrowly missed his head. At this stage the magistrates interfered, and cleared the church of the rioters, after which the service proceeded without further interruption. In the afternoon precautions were taken against the admission of the mob, and nothing unusual happened. Lindsay, the bishop of

[1] *Memoirs of Bishop Guthrie*, pp. 14-19.

Edinburgh, was attacked by the rabble in the streets at the close of both services, and was rescued with difficulty from serious maltreatment. So began and ended in St. Giles' the attempt, rashly undertaken and as hastily abandoned, to impose a liturgy upon a nation without its consent.[1]

It is doubtful who were the instigators of the riots in St. Giles'. Bishop Guthrie[2] says they were the result of a consultation at Edinburgh in April between the ministers, Henderson and Dickson, together with lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, the lord advocate. The combination, he says, included several ladies, whom he names, and they are described by a second writer as "the devouter sex."[3] Another contemporary gives the following version of the scene: "A number of the meaner sort of the people, most of them waiting-maids and women who use in that town for to keep places for the better sort, with clapping of their hands, curses, and outcries, raised such an uncouth noise and hubbub in the church that not any one could either hear or be heard."[4] Dr. Burton concurs in this view and says—"Some of them (the women), no doubt, were zealots; but the bulk of those contributing outcry and violence were creatures of that debased mob-element, with animal instincts, ever tending to abuse and violence when they are excited."[5]

No narrative of the riot in St. Giles' would perhaps be complete without some reference to the mythical Jenny Geddes of 1637, whom certain modern writers have manufactured into a historical personage, and lauded

[1] Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 20; Baillie's *Letters*, i. 18; Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, i. 8; *Large Declaration*, pp. 23, 26; Row's *History*, pp. 408, 409; Clarendon's *History*, i. 87, 88.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 23.

[3] Guthrie was deposed from the ministry by the Covenanters for "malignancy" in 1648, and became bishop of Dunkeld in 1664.—Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 99.

[4] Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, i. 7.

[5] *History*, vi. 150

as a heroine. The only historical Janet Geddes figured in the High Street of Edinburgh at the Restoration of Charles II. in 1661 as a staunch royalist, and Burton shows how, in the next century, her name became erroneously associated with the riot in St. Giles' church.[1]

Disturbances of a less violent character were raised in other churches on the reading of the liturgy. In Greyfriars', Edinburgh, Fairley, the bishop-elect of Argyll, had to give up reading the service before he had well begun. The Privy Council by proclamation denounced the rioters; the magistrates of Edinburgh made a submissive apology to the king, and apprehended several suspected persons. Spottiswoode, the chancellor, in the name of himself and the other bishops, suspended the reading both of the old and new service books, permitting only the Sunday sermons with extempore prayers preceding and following. The suspension of Knox's Book is difficult to explain, unless it were done from episcopal pique. It gave much dissatisfaction to both the king and Laud; but Baillie exaggerates the evil when he describes Edinburgh as being under a religious interdict, seeing that the people had on Sundays unlimited sermons and prayers from their ministers.[2]

The king wrote to the Privy Council in the end of July, and the Council, taking courage from his letter, agreed to resume the use of the liturgy on the 13th

[1] Burton, vi. note, 151, 152. Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals*, iii. 593, states that in 1735 there was living in Edinburgh a middle-aged man named Robert Main who boasted that the woman usually called Jenny Geddes, but really Barbara Hamilton, who threw the stool, was his great-grandmother. A descendant of dean Hannay has been indiscreetly allowed to erect in St. Giles' a brass tablet to his ancestor's memory, for no apparent reason except that he was dean at that memorable crisis. This has quite naturally provoked a counter memorial of the fame of Jenny Geddes. Only there is this difference between the records on the twin tablets,—that the commemorated dean was really a personage in the incident recorded, while the monumental Jenny is a myth.

[2] Baillie's *Letters*, i. 18.

August; but when the day came no liturgy appeared. The bishops and the lay members of Council had fallen out, each side throwing the blame of the riots on the other; the bishops accusing the lay lords of culpable indifference, and the lords blaming the bishops for fatuous bungling. The earl of Traquair, the treasurer, though specially trusted by Laud, seems to have been unworthy of his confidence, and is considered by many to have been the marplot of the service book.

Archbishop Lindsay was not more successful with the liturgy in Glasgow than his namesake, bishop Lindsay, had been in Edinburgh. He had asked Baillie, a moderate man, who at first was in favour of Episcopal government though opposed to the liturgy, and still more to the manner of its introduction, to preach at his diocesan synod in August. When Baillie refused, William Annand, minister of Ayr, was appointed; and, according to Baillie, he defended the liturgy in his sermon as well as any man in Britain could have done.[1] His pulpit utterances drew upon him some rough handling from the female puritans of Glasgow, who mobbed and attacked him in the streets to the danger of his life, until the magistrates had to give him a safe conduct and send him out of the city.[2]

The excitement in Edinburgh was zealously fanned by the Presbyterians. Petitioners against the liturgy flocked into the capital, and so active was the canvass throughout the country that in a short time sixty-eight petitions were presented to the Council. They were handed to the duke of Lennox, who was passing through Edinburgh to London, that he might present them to his majesty. When the royal answer came on the 17th October, the mixed multitude that had assembled were surprised by a proclamation forbidding the Council from

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, i. 19-21. [2] Rothes, *Relation*, pp. 2-5.

further meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, ordering all strangers to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, removing the Courts of Justice to Linlithgow, and commanding that the book entitled *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*[1] should be brought to the Council and publicly burned.[2]

The populace, however, were no longer to be awed by royal proclamations, and next day they proceeded to the most violent outrages. Bishop Sydserf became a victim of the popular fury, being specially obnoxious from his high church proclivities and from the common belief that somewhere about him he wore a crucifix. He was attacked in the street by a mob, in which women as usual predominated; and they would probably have torn him to pieces but for his escape into the Council-room. When this refuge was assailed by the rioters a messenger was sent to the magistrates for help, but they were in the same state of siege. Traquair, the lord treasurer, ventured into the streets to appease the crowd, and a rush was made upon him in which he was thrown down and his hat and cloak and white wand of office trampled on the ground. The magistrates could not pacify the mob, and had ultimately to appeal to the nobles, who were known to be on friendly terms with the ringleaders. Baillie describes the situation as follows: "There was never in our land such an appearance of a stir: the whole people think popery at the doors; the scandalous pamphlets which come daily new from England, add oil to this flame; no man may speak anything in public for the king's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one

[1] Written by young Gillespie, afterwards a member of the Westminster Assembly.

[2] Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 24; *The Large Declaration*, pp. 33, 34; Peterkin's *Records*, p. 55; Balfour, ii. 236.

day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above anything that I ever could have imagined, though the Mass in Latin had been presented."[1]

The Privy Council issued a proclamation next day forbidding the citizens to assemble in the streets, but the citizens were now backed by a power stronger than the Council, and defied it. The agitation was kept alive. A petition was presented to Spottiswoode, the chancellor, in the name of "the men, women, children, and servants of Edinburgh," protesting against the service book; and another to the same effect came from the nobles, barons, ministers, burgesses, and commons of the kingdom. More than the service book was aimed at in these protestations. The reforming lords, who were the backbone of the opposition, were determined to overthrow the episcopal hierarchy, as the surest means of circumventing their lordly rivals and of retaining possession of the Church lands, which formed the chief wealth of many of them. They met in Edinburgh on the 15th November, and among them for the first time appeared the young earl of Montrose, who was afterwards to win his fame in other fields and in different company. To strengthen their position against the Government they combined with the other classes of the people, and formed four representative committees of nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses. As these committees sat at four different tables in the Parliament-house, they came to be known as THE TABLES. A few noblemen, Rothes, Balmerino, and Loudon, with the two ministers, Henderson and Dickson, whom Baillie calls "the two archbishops," were the soul of the new movement. The Privy Council with some hesitation consented to the formation of the "Tables," and by this grave blunder unwittingly undermined its own authority.[2] The Tables were at first sanctioned to receive

[1] *Letters*, etc. i. 10.

[2] Burton, vi. 170.

the petitions of the people and advise them; but very soon they were strong enough to issue mandates in their own name, which were more respected than the proclamations of king or Council. Dr. Cunningham remarks that "they (the Tables) soon assumed all the powers which were possessed by the Clubs of Paris during the French Revolution."[1] The comparison is as candid now as the tabular institution was ominous then. Here were men, nobles and ministers, loudly protesting against the king's violation of the constitution, and yet at the very outset of their opposition subverting the first principles of the constitution and usurping the government of the country.

Charles by way of conciliation had sent the earl of Roxburgh with a proclamation, made at Linlithgow 7th December 1637, in which he declared his abhorrence of popery and his resolve to maintain the goodly laws of his native kingdom. The Tables answered by sending deputies to the Privy Council at Dalkeith, on the 24th December, to demand that the bishops, as the prime movers of all the mischief, should be removed from their seats at the Council-board. This was more than the Council could do—to change its own constitution—and the matter was remitted to Whitehall.[2]

At the king's request Traquair, the treasurer, went to London to consult with his Majesty, who was still incredulous that the country stood on the verge of revolution. After much consultation, in which both Laud and Strafford took part, it was determined to stand by the service book.[3] Traquair returned to Scotland with his instructions and proclaimed them at Stirling, where the Council and the Sessions were then held, on the 19th February 1638.

[1] *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 78.

[2] *Large Declaration*, pp. 45-47; Baillie, i. pp. 25-27, 42-46 and 454-458.

[3] Nothing came of this unwise resolution.

Some of the lords of the Tables were in Stirling before him, and when he had read the royal proclamation at the market cross, which severely censured the petitioners and commanded strangers to leave the town, lords Lindsay and Home stood up and read a protest in which they maintained their right to petition the king, and declared their opposition to prelates sitting as judges in any court, civil or ecclesiastical; at the same time repudiating all responsibility for the consequences of their action. Similar scenes followed at Linlithgow and Edinburgh; and in the capital the proclamation was received "with jeering and laughter of the most unmannerly sort" on the part of the crowd, amongst whom were mingled lords and barons and ministers, the active agents of the Tables.[1]

The country was, in truth, on the brink of revolution, and the next step taken by the Tables precipitated the crisis. The Scottish nobles had for centuries been adepts in the formation of "bonds" for joint action in resistance to the Crown, and the old expedient was adopted now. But the new bond was to have a broader basis than earlier precedents supplied. The classes and the masses were to be welded together for more formidable resistance to the Government. Scotland must be leagued in covenant, and prepared for it by a solemn fast, during which every available pulpit was to ring with the wrongs of the people. It was done. The National Covenant of 1638 appeared. It consisted of three parts, the first being a repetition of James the Sixth's Negative Confession of 1581; the second, a rehearsal of various Acts of Parliament against popery and in favour of the Reformed religion; and the third, the Covenant proper, in which the subscribers bound themselves to defend the Protestant religion, to abjure all innovations and corruptions of the same, and to stand by

[1] *Large Declaration*, pp. 47-52; Rothes's *Relation*, pp. 59-68.

each other in defence of their religious freedom against all persons whatsoever.[1] Johnstone of Warriston is credited with preparing the second part, and Henderson, the third. When the draft was submitted to the committees considerable opposition was made to portions of it. Some objected to the condemnation of the Perth Articles on the ground that they had been passed in a lawful Assembly; ministers said that the signing of the Covenant would be perjury to their ordination vows; and others, taking a wider view, declared the Covenant to be veiled treason. By judicious alterations the scruples of objectors were overcome, and preparations made for signing the Covenant on a national scale.

In the Old Greyfriars' church, Edinburgh, the signing began on the 28th February 1638. It was prefaced by a prayer from Henderson, and a speech from Loudon. The aged earl of Sutherland was the first to sign, and soon the parchment was well covered with names of persons of all ranks and of both sexes. It was taken from the church to the churchyard, and subscribed by many of the people on a flat gravestone. The signing continued for four hours until eight in the evening.[2] Most of the signatures appear written in black and a few in red, which gave rise to the tradition that it was signed in blood; some sign only their initials, and a few add "till death." The bold signature of "Montrose" stands prominent in the list.[3]

Copies of the Covenant were immediately distributed throughout the country, and signed by thousands with the greatest enthusiasm. The Tables had organised a staff to complete the work, and their agents were busy in every parish. It did not, however, meet with universal

[1] Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 9-13.

[2] Rothes's *Relation*, pp. 70-79.

[3] *The Covenants and the Covenanters*, by Rev. Dr. Kerr, Glasgow, 1895.

acceptance. The Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen condemned it; Dr. Strang, the principal of Glasgow University, and the famous Zachary Boyd, refused to subscribe it. Opposition was offered in other quarters, especially in Aberdeen, where the citizens were all but unanimous against it; but so popular was the movement elsewhere, and so determined the zeal of the "Covenanters," as they were now called, that many were constrained to sign it for the sake of peace, aware that the Government was powerless to protect them.[1]

Different views are held of the Covenant, now as then; but it is difficult to defend it on grounds of legality. Its subscribers were loud in their professions of loyalty to the throne, but their professions have to be read in the light of their subsequent action, which was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Covenant but hardly so with any recognised standard of loyalty; and if they meant open war it would have been more honest to have said so. It is certain that the continental Reformers did not sympathise with the belligerent attitude of the Covenanters. Dr. Cunningham says of the Covenant—"If we interpret it as the Covenanters themselves did, when they afterwards took up arms against their king for their mutual defence, it is difficult to understand how law should sanction such a league."[2] The Covenant was virtually a summons to arms—whether justifiable or not is a question which will be variously answered. Spottiswoode, the archbishop, when he heard of the scene at Greyfriars is said to have exclaimed, "They have thrown down in a day what we have been building up for thirty years." And so they had.

[1] *Large Declaration*, pp. 72, 73; Baillie, i. 52, 53; Stevenson, *Hist. Ch. and State of Scotland*, ii. 298; Rothes's *Relation*, pp. 70-80; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 43, 44; Burton, vi. 204, 205.

[2] *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 84.

Charles was at once apprised of the inflammatory state of the country. Despatches were sent to London, the chief officers of State followed, and several of the bishops were already there. Livingstone, the minister, was sent by the Covenanters with copies of the Covenant to their English confederates. He rode disguised in a gray coat and Montero cap, and on the way was thrown from his horse and so much disfigured that on his arrival he could not appear among his friends. Several English noblemen visited and held counsel with him, but before many days he was warned, through the marquis of Hamilton, that the king was aware of his presence in London and had threatened to put fetters on his feet. Livingstone acted on the warning and was soon back among his friends in Scotland.[1]

As a result of a conference with the king, the marquis of Hamilton was sent in the end of May as commissioner to treat with the Covenanters. On the 28th April they had forwarded to the Scottish lords at Court a statement of their grievances, signed by the earls of Rothes, Cassillis, and Montrose, in which they insisted upon the abolition of the court of High Commission, as well as of the service book and canons. When Hamilton arrived at Dalkeith in June he found that the demands of the Covenanters were rising with the success of their cause, and he hesitated to publish the king's proclamation, certain as it was to be followed by a protest, unless he had the means of enforcing it. The Covenanters, forecasting the probable issue, had ordered arms from the Continent, and had surrounded Edinburgh Castle with a guard to prevent its being supplied with ammunition. The commissioner refused to enter Edinburgh until the guard was withdrawn, and, this being done, he was met on the

[1] *Life of Livingstone* (Wodrow Society), i. 156-160.

way by an imposing cavalcade of nobles and gentry, and by an immense crowd of ministers and people. The royal proclamation was read shortly afterwards, not as it had been framed at Whitehall, but watered down to humour the insurgents until it sounded more like an apology for the king's conduct than a claim upon his people's obedience. But even in this modified form it failed to escape the fate of previous proclamations; for no sooner was it published at the market cross than the Covenanters extemporised a platform, and their leaders, headed by the earl of Cassillis, delivered a carefully-written protestation, declaring that they would persevere in their present course until their grievances were resolved in a General Assembly and Parliament.[1]

The king's vacillation is a matter of history—how weak and how headstrong he was by turns, never knowing when it was wise to yield or when to resist, but dallying with compromises which generally failed in the end. That there were only two possible courses open to him was as clear as day at that stage of the crisis—either to concede the meetings of Assembly and Parliament and throw the responsibility upon them, or to resist by an armed force. Charles did neither, and the result was what, after all, in his heart he must have been anxious to avoid—war with the people of his native country.

The mission of Hamilton was fruitless, and he returned to Court for further instructions, leaving the Covenanters in virtual possession of the country. Aberdeen was the only city that stood out against them; and commissioners, including the earl of Montrose and the three ministers, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, were sent to convert its citizens to the Covenant. The capital of the north never

[1] *Large Declaration*, pp. 77-110; Balfour's *Annals*, ii. 252, 263; Baillie, i. 74-93; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 63-80; Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 52-65.

failed in hospitality, and the magistrates offered their visitors "the cup of courtesy" or "cup of Bon-Accord,"—so called from the motto in the corporation arms,—a collation of wine and other refreshments. But the covenanted would have no fellowship with the uncovenanted, and refused their hospitality until they had first subscribed—an insult, says an Aberdonian contemporary, "whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory."[1] The materials of the rejected feast were distributed among the poor of the city.

Although the commissioners would not accept the hospitality of the corporation they had to accept the refutation of the Covenant at the hands of the "Aberdeen Doctors." A lengthened correspondence took place between them beginning with fourteen demands made by the doctors challenging the authority of the Covenant. To these, answers were sent by the commissioners and replies made by the doctors, and then second answers followed by duplies. The controversy is now wearisome reading, though lightened up by occasional flashes of humour. The doctors always returned to their first entrenchment, What authority had these men for imposing the Covenant on the country? And when Henderson grew eloquent upon its Scriptural character, the doctors repeated their demand, What right have you, even were the Covenant all that you say, to force it against our conscience upon us?[2]

There was another northern power whom the Covenanters wished to secure—the marquis of Huntly, who had lately succeeded his father. He had been, by the desire

[1] Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 91, 92.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 98, 99; Grub, iii. 13-16; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 92, 96; Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, pp. 35-40; Baillie, i. 73. The king complimented the Aberdeen doctors upon the stand that they made against the Covenant.—Burton, vi. 235.

of king James, brought up with his own sons at the English Court, and educated in the Anglican faith. Colonel Monro, a Scot trained in the German wars, and now serving under the Covenanters, was sent to Strathbogie to make an ally of the marquis, and to threaten him with the vengeance of their party if he refused. He courteously told Monro "that his family had risen and stood by the kings of Scotland, and that, for his part, if the event proved the ruin of this king, he was resolved to lay his life, honours, and estate under the rubbish of the king his ruins."[1]

The marquis of Hamilton returned in August with fresh instructions from the king, and bringing with him, as ecclesiastical adviser, dean Balcanqual, a representative at the synod of Dort, and one of the executors of George Heriot's munificent bequest to Edinburgh. The commissioner intimated the king's intention to summon the Assembly and Parliament, but this did not satisfy the Covenanters, who had now determined that Episcopacy and the Perth Articles, as well as the service book and canons, should be abolished, and the Covenant universally imposed under pain of excommunication. Charles was advised by the Scottish royalist peers to adopt his father's Negative Confession of 1581, as a means of rallying his supporters and outflanking his opponents. He said the remedy was worse than the disease, but, pressed by Hamilton, he consented. The Confession was signed and commissions issued for obtaining signatures throughout Scotland. There were thus two manifestoes in the field, the king's and the Tables'; but, though the former received nearly thirty thousand signatures, it could not compete in popularity with the more elaborate Covenant.[2]

[1] Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 49, 50. Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 79-81.
[2] *Large Declaration*, pp. 134-173;

The struggle was now practically between the king and the Covenanters, and both sides were occupied in the preliminary skirmishes which generally precede a more serious engagement. The bishops were already out of the way, afraid to face the violence of the opposition. Several of them had retired to England to avoid persecution, and Baillie mentions that it was the Covenanters' intention to have archbishop Spottiswoode excommunicated and afterwards put to death.[1] The primate was evidently in terror for his life before he withdrew into Yorkshire. It had been resolved for some time to relieve him of the chancellorship, which he now resigned at the king's request upon receiving £2500 sterling as compensation, a transaction which bears an ill flavour, though it may have been but a just repayment of expenditure, albeit incurred in an office which he never should have held.[2]

Two incidents occurred at this stage which slightly relieved the monotony of the fencing between king and Covenanters. The performances of a Mrs. Margaret Nicholson or Mitchelson, who is said to have been favoured with visions or trances similar to those still in vogue in Roman Catholic countries, were pressed into the service of the Covenant. She assumed the *rôle* of a prophetess, and her raptures about the Covenant being crowned in heaven were believed by the multitude to proceed from that quarter. More strange, if possible, than the delusion was the credence given to the imposture by men and women "of all ranks and qualities," nobles and ministers and high-born dames, who crowded to hear her, and listened to her ravings as if they had been the oracles of God.[3] The other affair was that of a Jesuit priest,

[1] *Letters*, i. 65.

[2] Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 62, 78, 89; Baillie, i. 78, 88; Russell's Life of Spottiswoode, *Hist.* pp. xlv.-xlvii.

[3] *Large Declaration*, pp. 226, 227; Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 83; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 131, 132.

Thomas Abernethy, who professed to be converted to the Covenant. He contributed revelations of a more earthly order, which were duly credited and circulated. Baillie speaks of "a very sweet discourse, and many tears over his reclaiming" in spite of the suspicion of hypocrisy, "which after all our diligence," he says, "we can find no appearance of." Time revealed what the diligence of the duped could not discover.[1] These incidents tell of a heated atmosphere, a large credulity, and the familiar use of party weapons.

Charles had agreed to a meeting of the Assembly, and the Tables were busy with instructions to every presbytery to insure the election of none but covenanting representatives, lay and clerical. Every minister who was "erroneous in doctrine or scandalous in life," in other words opposed to the Covenant, was to be put under process, and, if elected, the minority were to challenge his election before the Assembly. The moderators of presbyteries, and all chapter men known to be in favour of Episcopacy, were to be if possible excluded. In the convening of the Glasgow Assembly of 1610, the interference of king James in the election of representatives had been deeply resented by the Presbyterians, and the Assembly was maligned as a packed Assembly, yet the same tactics were now more unscrupulously adopted on the other side.[2] Most of the presbyteries yielded to the dictation of the Tables, so that the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 was neither a free nor a constitutional Assembly. There had been discussions in London as to the best place of meeting—whether Edinburgh, Aberdeen, or Glasgow. Aberdeen offered the most advantages to the episcopal cause, and the services of the Aberdeen doctors would have been available for its

[1] Baillie, i. 78.
[2] *Large Declaration*, p. 129; Baillie's *Letters*, i. 469.

defence; but the marquis of Hamilton, who had been appointed royal commissioner, was in favour of Glasgow, hoping to use his territorial influence in the west, though that went for little in the heat of the contest.

The ulterior aim of the Covenanters, now openly avowed, was the abolition of the hierarchy, and the fall of the Episcopal Church. The packed Assembly could be trusted to condemn the bishops by a sweeping majority, but the difficulty was how to bring them before its bar with any regard to constitutional procedure. The Covenanters requested the commissioner to cite them in his own name, which he declined to do, as exceeding his powers. They then applied to the judges, contrary to their own cherished principles that ecclesiastics could only be tried by an ecclesiastical court, but the judges replied that they had no jurisdiction. As a last resort they appealed to a court hitherto untroubled with scruples about bishops,—the presbytery of Edinburgh. It is needless to remark that the jurisdiction of that, as of any other presbytery, was restricted to members within its own bounds, and that their dealing with a libel against the bishops was a ludicrous usurpation. The libel was prepared and signed by the representatives of the Four Tables and presented to the presbytery, charging the bishops with Arminianism, Popery, prelatic tyranny, with bringing in the Service Book, the Canons, and the High Court of Commission, and finally with being guilty of "excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards and dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive gaming, profaning the Sabbath, contempt of the public ordinances and private family exercises, mocking the power of preaching, prayer, and spiritual conference, and sincere professors; and besides, of bribery, simony, selling of commissariat places, lies, perjuries, dishonest dealing in civil bargains, abusing of their

vassals, and of adultery and incest, with many other offences," the details of which were to be stated specifically against the different bishops.[1]

The presbytery sustained the libel, transmitted it to the approaching Assembly, and ordered it to be read in all the pulpits on the ensuing Sunday. "And thus they prostituted places," Dr. Cunningham remarks, "which ought to be sacred to that charity 'which rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth,' for spreading among the people these abominable calumnies against men, many of them venerable for their piety, learning, and years, and whose only real crime was, that they were bishops. The sin was aggravated by being perpetrated on a Communion Sabbath, and almost over the symbols of our redemption."[2] Burton is not less severe on the libel of the bishops. "It has ever been the good fortune of those who have from time to time raised a war of extermination against bishops, to find that they are all so vicious in their lives as to render unnecessary any discussion of doctrines and ceremonies as a means of driving them from the Church."[3] The black list was the outcome of the resolution expressed by Baillie with exulting candour—"No kind of crime which can be gotten proven of a bishop will now be concealed."[4]

The Assembly met in Glasgow cathedral on Wednesday, 21st November 1638.[5] It consisted of 140 ministers, and 98 ruling elders from presbyteries and burghs, of

[1] *Large Declaration*, pp. 209-219. The writer of the *Declaration* appends to the document: "This now is that libel with which the Covenanters did undoubtedly compass their own end, which was to raise up in the people an utter abhorrence of the present bishops' persons, and an irreconcilable hatred against both their persons and calling, but with what religion, justice, and honesty they have effected it, others besides themselves, both in heaven and earth, must judge and give sentence."

[2] *Ch. Hist. Scot.* ii. 99.

[3] *Hist. Scot.* vi. 231.

[4] *Letters*, i. 105.

[5] The Assembly apparently met in the chancel.

whom 17 were noblemen, 34 lesser barons and gentry, and 47 burgesses. Few had gowns, some had cloaks, and many carried doublets, swords, and daggers. A mixed crowd, keenly curious about the proceedings of the day, and comprising many of the "devouter sex," found accommodation within the building, either on the floor of the cathedral, or in two tiers of galleries in the aisles. So great was the jostling and disorder that Baillie, not very squeamish in his ideas of reverence, breaks out in the following strain upon the behaviour of the crowd. "It is here alone," he says, "where I think we may learn from Canterbury, yea from the Pope, yea from the Turks or Pagans, modesty and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so far the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content till they were down the stairs."[1]

Discussions and protestations "more than a round dozen" were made before the Assembly was constituted and its business begun, and every one, says Baillie, was wearied of them, except the clerk, who with each protestation received a piece of gold. It was a game of ecclesiastical fencing between Hamilton the commissioner and the leading Covenanters, each striving to circumvent the other. On the second day, Alexander Henderson was chosen moderator, "a moderator without moderation," said Laud, attempting to be witty; and on the third, Johnstone

[1] *Letters*, i. 96. Baillie was then minister of Kilwinning; and afterwards for his services to the Covenant made professor of divinity in Glasgow University, and ultimately its principal. He was also a member of the Westminster Assembly. See preface to his *Letters*.

of Warriston, the astutest of lawyers, was appointed clerk.[1] The commissioner wished to read a protestation from the bishops against the lawfulness of the Assembly, but it was met with a tumultuous clamour of "No reading." "This barbarous crying," says Baillie, "offended the commissioner most of all." He protested against the action of the Assembly, and the earl of Rothes, once a papist and now a bitter puritan, with still another change before him, protested against the commissioner's protest. The object of the Tables was to strike a decisive blow at Episcopacy by bringing the bishops as criminals before the Assembly, and so excluding them from any voice in its proceedings.[2] The scheme was cleverly devised, whatever may be thought of its morality.

On the sixth day of session the declinature of the bishops was read, stating their constitutional objections to the Assembly; and at the same time three more protests were delivered from ministers in Edinburgh, Dundee, and Glasgow. Answers were made to the several objections raised in the protests, more especially as to the admission of lay elders who were unknown to that generation. The answers were prepared by Calderwood, the historian, who had returned from exile and "lived all the time of this Assembly privily beside the moderator's chamber, and furthered what he could by his studies all our proceedings."[3] On Wednesday, the seventh day, the commissioner convened the Privy Council in the chapter-house, and intimated his intention of dissolving the Assembly. When it met that day and was about to vote

[1] Johnstone made no little sensation in the Assembly by producing the authentic records of previous Assemblies from 1560 to 1590, which were believed to have been lost, or purloined by the Episcopal party. See Baillie's *Letters*, i. 129-139, for the rapture of the occasion, and Burton, vi. 227, 228, for the subsequent history of the records.

[2] Burton, vi. 226.

[3] Baillie, *Letters*, i. 111.

on its competency to pronounce judgment on the bishops, the commissioner addressed the members, giving as his reasons for withdrawal,—the presence of lay elders, the election of ministers by lay elders, the dictation of the Tables in their election, the Assembly's insistence upon trying the bishops whom they had already prejudged and condemned. He commanded them not to proceed further, and protested against any future action on their part as being neither legal nor binding upon his majesty's subjects. Thereupon he dissolved the Assembly, and withdrew with the lords of the Council.

The Assembly were prepared for this step, and immediately voted that they should continue their sittings and proceed with the trial of the bishops. A few members retired when the commissioner left, but the great majority remained and were the more united in their action. Next day the royal proclamation was read at the market cross of Glasgow dissolving the Assembly. The Covenanters disregarded it, elated as they now were by the acquisition of lord Lorn, who in the spring of this year, at the age of thirty, had succeeded to the earldom of Argyll. He had previously succeeded to much of the family estates when his father, the same whom Huntly defeated at Glenlivet, became a Roman Catholic.[1] Of all the actions of the Privy Council distasteful to the Covenanters, Lorn had hitherto been a warm supporter, and the king's trusted friend. This was the opportunity he chose for deserting his master. Hamilton, in a letter to the king, animadverting on the several noblemen prominent in Scottish affairs, describes with some penetration the character of the earl —"He was now the only counsellor who was held up as a true patriot, a loyal subject, and zealous for the purity of

[1] The father became a Romanist about the year 1618. See Spottiswoode, iii. 257.

religion. And truly, sir, he takes it upon him. He must be well looked to; for it fears me he will prove the dangerousest man in the State. So far is he from advancing episcopal government that he wished it with all his heart to be totally abolished."[1] Argyll had more cause than any other man in Scotland to seek the abolition of Episcopacy, seeing that he possessed, besides other spoils, the patrimony of four bishoprics—Brechin, Dunkeld, Argyll, and the Isles. Conduct like his was well hit off in the common satire of the day that "many of the great landowners became Protestants to get the property of the Church, and became Covenanters in order to keep it."[2]

The Assembly was now expeditious in the business for which it had met. It passed an Act condemning the Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618 as null and void chiefly because of the sovereign's interference, although the present Assembly had been still more vitiated by the tyrannical dictation of the Tables; it condemned the Liturgy, Canons, Ordination Book, and High Court of Commission, the latter being not one whit more unconstitutional than its own Tables; it condemned Episcopacy and the Five Articles of Perth, although both had been ratified by Assembly and Parliament;[3] and then it proceeded with the condemnation of the bishops in their absence. All the fourteen were deposed, not only from their bishoprics, but from the office of the ministry, and eight of them were also excommunicated—a sentence which carried with it the forfeiture of every civil right and exposed them to imprisonment and exile. The sentence was pronounced in presence of the Assembly by the

[1] Letter from Hamilton to king, 27th November 1638.—Peterkin, pp. 113-115.

[2] See Burton, vi. 225-226.

[3] Baillie alone refused to condemn Episcopacy *simpliciter* and the Five Articles.—*Letters*, i. 157-160.

moderator, and ordered to be read in all the churches of Scotland by the ministers of the several congregations. The text of Henderson's sermon on the occasion was—"The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." The reader, by accident or design, read the chapter with the words—"The time cometh when they shall put you out of their synagogues," and was interrupted and told to make another selection. Three of the bishops, Dunkeld, Caithness, and Argyll—the last, Fairley, recently consecrated—recanted to save themselves, winning little respect from either side by their apostasy. Several of the ministers opposed to the Covenant were deprived by the Assembly, and the deprivation of others followed soon afterwards.[1]

Episcopacy thus disposed of, the Presbyterian form of government was set up, so far as the Assembly could do it. It justified its proceedings to the king, requested his royal sanction to the same, and closed its doors 20th December 1638. And so within thirty years (1610-1638), Glasgow witnessed the establishment and the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church, in each case by a General Assembly sitting within the venerable walls of its cathedral. The ecclesiastical affairs of the country were once more thrown back into confusion. How the Covenanters used their power until Cromwell took them in hand will be told in the subsequent chapters.

[1] Baillie, in his *Letters*, *sub* 1638, gives a full account of each day's proceedings in the Assembly.

# CHAPTER XIII

## CHARLES I.—FROM DISESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN 1638 TO BEGINNING OF GREAT REBELLION, 1643

Hamilton's report of Glasgow Assembly—His accusations against bishops—Action of Covenanters enforcing the Covenant—Beginning of civil war in Scotland—Action of Assembly in Edinburgh, 1639—Deprivation of Episcopal clergy—Fate of the bishops—Presbytery and witchcraft—Split among Covenanters—Deprivation of "Aberdeen Doctors" and clergy — Covenanting army "harries" Aberdeen — Covenanters seek military aid from French king — Covenanting army marches into England — Its leading ministers in London — Extravagant demands of Covenanters—Opening of Long Parliament, 1640—Strafford and Laud—Scottish nobles, royalist and anti-royalist—General Assembly and English Puritans—Second visit of Charles to Scotland—King powerless in Kirk and Parliament—Covenanting leaders rewarded—Rebellion in Ireland—King's return to England—Great Rebellion—Communications to the Assembly from king and English Parliament—Divided counsels in Scotland as to the civil war—Patronage—General Assembly paramount—English Puritans attend General Assembly of 1643—They invite Covenanters to Westminster Assembly—Solemn League and Covenant framed in Scotland and signed by English Puritans at Westminster—Eight Covenanters appointed to Westminster Assembly.

THE marquis of Hamilton in his report of the Glasgow Assembly to the king charged the Covenanters with tyranny and the bishops with folly. He also accused Spottiswoode, the primate, and the bishops of Brechin, Argyll, and Aberdeen of conduct unbecoming their office; but the charges had probably no other foundation than

the current calumnies of their enemies. Of all the bishops none were more unpopular than Maxwell of Ross and Sydserf of Galloway, and both incurred popular odium on account of their high church principles, and not for their private conduct. Maxwell became bishop of Killaloe and archbishop of Tuam, and in ability stood second to none of the Scottish prelates. Sydserf's character is well vindicated by Burnet of Crimond, father of bishop Burnet, in a letter written while an exile abroad to his brother-in-law Johnstone of Warriston. "I think," he writes, "there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced against some of these bishops and particularly against this man (Sydserf), since the creation of the world; and I am persuaded that those who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themselves from God than him; for I have known him these twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him; and I know him to be a learneder and more conscientious man (although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others) than any of those who were upon his excommunication."[1]

Early in January 1639 Hamilton went to London and met the king and Laud at Whitehall, where he gave them a fuller account of the Covenanting crisis. Laud was concerned about the critical position of the episcopal clergy amid the combustible material in Scotland, which only wanted a spark to set it on fire. They had either to sign the Covenant against their conscience, or to face persecution. In the western districts where the feeling ran high against the "malignants," as the royalists were called, they were specially exposed and defenceless. One of them, writing to dean Balcanqual, speaks of the Sunday in

[1] Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, p. 63; Grub, iii. 111.

the end of December, which was devoted to thanksgiving for the Assembly, as "a terrible day of trial for many ministers who are directed to profess joy when there is nothing within but fear and sorrow."[1]

King and Covenanters were fast closing in the inevitable struggle. Edinburgh castle was taken by the Covenanters on 23rd March; Dunbarton castle fell into their hands "on a fasting Sunday" while the captain was at church with the garrison; and Stirling was held for them by the earl of Mar. It remained to bring Aberdeen, "that unnatural city," as Baillie calls it, under subjection to the Covenant. With this object Montrose marched north with a small army, having under him general Leslie, who had risen to the rank of field-marshal in the continental wars. As they approached Aberdeen the marquis of Huntly, unable to offer effective resistance, disbanded his men and retired to Strathbogie. The covenanting ministers now got possession of the town pulpits, and pronounced in April the sentence of the previous December upon the bishops. Robert Douglas, minister of Kirkcaldy, urged both men and women to swear and subscribe the Covenant. "The Lord knows," says Spalding, "that these town's people were brought under perjury from plain fear, and not from a willing mind, by tyranny and oppression of the Covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe although they knew that it was against their hearts."[2]

In one of the expeditions for enforcing the Covenant the first blood of the civil war was spilt, on 29th May, at Turriff, where the Covenanters were worsted by the royalists. The affray bore the local name of the "Trot of Turriff," and was nothing more than a skirmish in

[1] Balcanqual was made dean of Rochester in 1624, and dean of Durham in 1639.—Gordon, *Scots Affairs*, i. 8 note.

[2] Spalding, i. 134.

which three lives were lost. The marquis of Huntly made terms with Montrose on his second visit to Aberdeen, but found himself a prisoner and compelled to march south with him to Edinburgh, where he was confined in the castle.[1]

The chief royalists in Aberdeen, including the learned doctors, had found safety in flight before the submission of the town. Dr. Forbes retired to his castle at Corse,[2] and the others, accompanied by about sixty young cavaliers eager to offer their services to the king, sailed for England. Many of the leading ministers in other parts were deposed at this time, and among them the dean of Edinburgh and his colleagues in the city churches; Dr. Wishart and Dr. Panter, both of St. Andrews; Dr. Gordon of Elgin, and John Corbett, minister of Bonhill, in the Lennox.[3]

After much hesitation on the part of the king the royal army mustered at York in the spring of 1639, while Hamilton appeared on May-day with an English fleet in the Forth. Nothing came of the naval expedition, and its miscarriage suggested either the incapacity of the commander or his collusion with the Covenanters. The latter hastened their preparations, and by the end of May had an army of over twenty thousand men under the experienced Leslie, known as "the little crooked soldier," at Duns Law, not far from the royalists on the further side of the Tweed. Both armies were reluctant to come to blows, and after some little parley it was agreed that the Covenanters should surrender the royal castles and their

[1] Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, ii. 256-258; Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 185.

[2] See reference to Forbes by Dr. Johnson in Boswell's *Tour*, p. 199.

[3] Corbett was deposed by the presbytery of Dunbarton for attacking the Covenanters, and he continued the epistolary warfare from his retreat in Ireland. Baillie, i. 188-190; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, ii. 203, 204; Spalding, i. 124, 180; Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 260, 261.

prisoners, and that the king should summon an Assembly and a Parliament for the settlement of affairs. Baillie was present at the negotiations and was evidently touched by the dignity and grace of Charles's demeanour.[1] So courteous was the king in listening to their long speeches that they imagined he was converted to their opinions, and they startled him by begging on their knees that he would now put his hands, as they had put theirs, to the abolition of Episcopacy. He remarked with the same graciousness that it was too serious a business, and required reflection.

The king had promised to preside in person over the Assembly, but when the time came he could not face the humiliation. After the refusal of Hamilton, lord Traquair was appointed the king's commissioner. The Assembly met in Edinburgh, 12th August 1639, and the same care was taken to exclude the uncovenanted as at the Glasgow Assembly. There was now less need of the precaution, as the most prominent episcopal clergy were deposed or in exile. It was conceded to the king that the Glasgow Assembly should not be recognised as legal, or named in their written Acts, though they were free to speak of it as they pleased. The king on his part agreed to give up Episcopacy in Scotland, "not as contrary to God's law or the Protestant religion," but only as "contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland." It was impossible for the king to have gone further, consistently with his relations to the Church of England, and even in going so far he did violence to his own convictions, as contemporary evidence shows. The Assembly rescinded all the Acts obnoxious to the Presbyterians, one by one, exactly as they had done in Glasgow.

On the last day of the sitting, 30th August, the *Large*

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, i. 217.

*Declaration*, published in the king's name, though written by dean Balcanqual, was brought in for censure.[1] Proceeding on the ironical supposition that the writer had made free with the king's name they requested his majesty to recall the book and to send the author, naming Balcanqual, for trial and censure by the judge ordinary. Meanwhile they did not withhold their own censure. Andrew Cant proposed that the author should be hanged, and Dickson, the moderator,[2] reminded him "that that punishment is not in the hands of kirkmen."

The Assembly, before separating, renewed the Covenant, and persuaded the Secret Council to make its subscription obligatory on all classes under civil penalties.[3] From being a bond of defence the Covenant was made an instrument of oppression, and blossomed, within five years, into the more tyrannical Solemn League and Covenant.

The year 1639 was marked by the deprivation of more non-covenanting clergy, by the translation of Covenanters to important charges, and by the deaths of some prominent actors who passed from the troubled scene. Harsh as Spottiswoode is said to have been to the nonconforming ministers, there were more clergy of the other school deprived and driven into exile by the Covenanters during the single year after the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 than during the whole twenty-four years—1615 to 1639—of Spottiswoode's primacy.[4] Among the translations of the time was that of Robert Blair, who went from Ayr to St. Andrews, as "the meetest man," says his biographer, "to fill the vacant place at St. Andrews, where

[1] See Burton, vi. 276-279, who says "the statements in it are supported throughout by abundant documents, the accurate rendering of which has not been questioned."

[2] It was the same Dickson who gave to this Assembly the definition of tulchan bishops, which has been already quoted.

[3] Peterkin's *Records*, p. 208.

[4] Grub, iii. 67.

there were three colleges very corrupt, and the body of the town people addicted to prelacy and the ceremonies, it being the see of the arch-prelate." Rutherford was appointed principal of St. Mary's college in St. Andrews; Henderson was transferred to Edinburgh, Dickson to the professorship of divinity at Glasgow, where soon afterwards he had Baillie for a colleague; and next year Cant was presented to St. Nicholas' church, Aberdeen. Of the Aberdeen doctors, Ross and Baron died this year—the latter being bishop-designate of Orkney. Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, died in England, apparently from mental distress, and was buried within the cathedral of Canterbury. Spottiswoode died in December of the same year and found a grave in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried by the king's desire. Maxwell, bishop of Ross, whom he styled "his best beloved brother," and to whom he committed the editing of his *History*, was his chief executor, and commended by him to the king as his successor in the primacy.[1]

In the Assembly of Aberdeen, July 1640, Acts were passed against "the remnant monuments of idolatry, against witches and charmers, and against the revilers of the Covenant."[2] It is a curious phenomenon, however it be explained, that whenever Presbytery was dominant witches became prominent. It was so under the regent Moray, and again at the marriage of James VI., and now in this Assembly of 1640. And this was not the last of the persecution of these unhappy creatures. It was revived in the Assembly of 1643, when stringent Acts were passed against charming and sorcery; and shortly afterwards more than thirty persons in Fife alone, as Baillie relates,

[1] See Russell's Life of Spottiswoode, *Hist.* pp. cxxx.-cxxxiii.

[2] At this time the cathedrals of Aberdeen and Elgin were much destroyed, as mentioned by Spalding, i. 246, 286.

were burned for witchcraft.[1] The Assembly bewailed the increase of Satan's victims when they should have bewailed the increase of superstition in themselves which made them the instruments of a detestable cruelty.[2]

The Assembly of 1640 was much exercised by a split in their camp on the subject of private conventicles. It was a rift in the lute, which widened in later years and separated the Presbyterians into two hostile sections, known as Resolutioners and Protesters, the former corresponding to the Moderates of a later date, "the wise men of the *via media*," while the latter were perfervid Puritans. Private meetings had been held during the rule of Episcopacy, encouraged by English Puritans of the Brownist sect, and by Scottish colonists returned from Ireland. But the liberty which the Presbyterians had, with perfect right, claimed for themselves under Episcopal rule was now denied to them under their own Covenant. Henderson, Ramsay, and Calderwood, the historian, led the opposition and passed an Act which forbade conventicles as "tending to the hindrance of family exercises, to the prejudice of the public ministry, to the rending of particular congregations, to the hardening of the hearts of natural men, and the grief of the godly." Baillie acted as mediator, and a temporary peace was patched up; but there was no real healing of the breach, and the Assembly's

[1] Baillie, ii. 88, Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 279, 354.

[2] See Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 135, 136, for the connection between Presbytery and witchcraft. "While Presbyterianism of the Puritan type reigned uncontrolled between 1640 and 1651, witches were tortured to confession and savagely burnt, in vast numbers, the clergy not merely concurring but taking a lead in the proceedings. From 1662 to the Revolution prosecutions for witchcraft were comparatively rare. The reign of William III. became a new witch period in Scotland, and one involving many notable cases." See also Lyon's *Hist. St. Andrews*, ii. 18, 25, 56. As late as 1736, when the penal statutes against witchcraft were abolished, the Seceders still lifted up their "testimony" against the sinful laxity which suffered witches to live. See Leckie's *Hist of Rationalism*, i. 147.

decision was scouted by the men of the west country. Had conventicles been countenanced, there were other religionists at this time in Scotland, besides Covenanters, who would have availed themselves of the liberty, and it is not improbable that the astute Henderson saw farther than his opponents.[1]

Not the least important business of this Assembly was the deprivation of the obnoxious clergy of the city and diocese of Aberdeen and the doctors of the University. Short of subscribing the Covenant, they had done all in their power to propitiate Presbytery, discountenancing the keeping of Christmas, and giving the communion to members sitting. Nothing, however, would satisfy but absolute submission, and Drs. Scroggie, Sibbald, and Leslie, with some others, were deposed from the ministry. Great effort was made to win over Dr. John Forbes, and he was several times called before the Assembly, but as he could not conscientiously subscribe the Covenant, he was now deposed, and next year deprived of his professorship. "And now," says the contemporary historian, "the Assembly's errand was thoroughly done: these eminent divines of Aberdeen, either dead, deposed, or banished, in whom fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland beside at that time. Nor has that city, nor any city in Scotland ever since, seen so many learned divines and scholars at one time together, as were immediately before this in Aberdeen."[2]

While the Assembly was sitting, the earl of Argyll and general Munro with a thousand men, devastated Aberdeen and the north country; weeding the district of able-

[1] Peterkin's *Records*, 278, 279; Baillie, i. 248-255; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, iii. 214-223; Guthrie, pp. 66-70; Spalding, i. 310.

[2] Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, iii. 226-247. See also Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, pp. 48-58; Baillie, i. 248; Spalding, i. 310-313, and ii. 17, 18.

bodied "malignants," and sending them to join the Scots army in England. Munro was a rough specimen of the soldier, trained, like Leslie, in the great European wars, and his men were little better than the dregs of the country. They were a terror to the Aberdonians, and contemporary records tell of their "daily deboching and drinking, night-walking, combating, swearing, and bringing sundry honest women-servants to great misery."[1]

The Covenanters had despatched, in the spring of 1640, lords Loudon and Dunfermline to London; and Traquair followed them soon after, bearing the copy of a letter sent by the Covenanters to the king of France, soliciting his assistance in the prosecution of a war against their own sovereign. Much odium naturally attached to them for seeking military aid from a foreign despot and a papist to boot. Loudon, compromised by the letter, was committed to the Tower.[2] The presbyterian Scots soon found in the English puritans more valuable allies, both in politics and religion, than the French soldiers would have proved.[3]

The Covenanters, notwithstanding the settlement of Parliament and Assembly in their favour, renewed the war, marching to the border in August under general Leslie, and encamping for a few weeks on the old ground at Duns Law. In crossing the Tweed, Montrose with his usual impetuosity, was the first to dash into the stream at the head of his troops. They defeated lord Conway on the Tyne, and took possession of Newcastle. This was followed by negotiations at Ripon, where it was

[1] Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 275, 352; *Book of Bon Accord*, 68. "It was the hard fate of these unfortunates that after they had become the victims of the profligacy of the Covenanting soldiery, they came under the rigid discipline of the Covenanting clergy for the expiation of their frailties."—Burton, vi. 322.

[2] He pleaded that the letter had not been sent. Burton, vi. 289, gives evidence of its having reached Cardinal Richelieu, the French Secretary.

[3] Peterkin's *Records*, p. 283; Clarendon's *Hist.* i. 130, 131.

agreed to pay the Scots army £850 a day. The conference was then shifted to London, and the Scottish commissioners, including the ministers Henderson, Baillie, and Blair, were lodged about Covent Garden, and had the church of St. Antholin assigned to them. Clarendon reports on the preaching of the Scots that "to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort, by the citizens out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, and by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them—that from the first appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty."[1] Meanwhile the Covenanters effected their objects in the negotiations; for Charles, thwarted by the now dominant Puritan faction in the House of Commons, could offer no effectual resistance to Covenanting demands. The Acts of their last Convention in June were ratified; they were to receive £300,000 in the shape of indemnity for the war; and an Act of Oblivion was to be passed to include both sides, excepting the earl of Traquair, the bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Sir John Hay, and Dr. Balcanqual, who were branded as "Incendiaries," and blamed for having kindled the war. The king was powerless to protect his best friends. Success encouraged the Covenanters to enlarge their demands—no longer now for religious liberty to themselves, but for the imposition of the Kirk and Covenant upon England and Ireland. Such was the irony of events, that Charles and Laud saw their dream of ecclesiastical uniformity, which they had laboured in devious ways to promote, assuming a very different shape in the working of other minds.[2]

In the Long Parliament, which met in November

[1] *Hist.* i. 190.

[2] Burnet's *Memoirs of Hamilton*, pp. 181, 182; Baillie, i. 269-297 *passim*.

1640, both the earl of Strafford and Laud were impeached for high treason, one of the grounds of their impeachment being the encouragement they had given to the king to override the will of the Scottish people, and make war upon their country. Rothes and the other Scots commissioners took an active part in the prosecution. Baillie tells how Strafford "came forth from custody through the crowd all gazing, but no man capping to him in whose presence before that morning the greatest of England would have stood dis-covered."[1] Strafford was executed next year, and Laud was confined for three years in the Tower before meeting a like fate.

Charles, losing ground in England, sought to regain it in Scotland, and succeeded in winning some of the chief Covenanting nobles to his side. Rothes, "the father of the Covenant," was won by inducements not of the highest kind, though quite in keeping with his ambitious character. Any hope, however, of assistance from him was cut off by his death in 1641. Loudon, to regain his freedom, secretly engaged himself to the king, but his services were of little avail to Charles, owing to the mistrust with which he was regarded by the Scots. It was otherwise with Montrose, who now openly espoused the royal cause, influenced by pressure from the king, and by dissatisfaction with the changed attitude of the Covenanters, who were no longer defending their own religious liberty, but threatening the liberties of the three kingdoms by violently enforcing their Covenant and religion.[2] Balmerino still remained true to the Covenant, and in undying hostility to the king; while Argyll, not less unscrupulous than Rothes, and more tenacious of purpose,

[1] *Letters*, i. 272.

[2] See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, ed. Murdoch and Simpson, p. 14; and Editors' Preface, pp. xxxvii.-xli.

was a tower of strength to the cause from his feudal hold on the western clans.

The bickerings about private conventicles broke out afresh in the Assembly held in July at St. Andrews; and the English Puritans introduced a fresh bone of contention by a letter, craving the Assembly's judgment on the question of congregational Independency as compared with Presbytery. The Assembly in conveying through the moderator their strong preference for Presbytery, expressed the earnest desire for one confession of faith, one catechism, one order of Church worship and government for both kingdoms—suggestions which were carried out a few years afterwards in the Westminster Assembly.[1]

In order to strengthen his position in Scotland, where he knew that the traditional respect for royalty still survived, Charles paid a second visit to his native land. He arrived at Holyrood on Saturday 14th August, having supped the previous night with general Leslie at Newcastle; and on Sunday he attended the Abbey church, and heard Henderson preach. For not attending the second service, he was courteously admonished by Henderson, and with equal courtesy he promised to be more exemplary in future. Changed times since the lightning rebukes of Knox and Melville; changed not less since Charles's previous visit to Holyrood, when he was attended by Anglican prelates, and had all the accessories of the ritual he loved in the same venerable building. Parliament was sitting, but Charles found himself as powerless there as he was in the Abbey church, and was constrained to sanction all the proceedings of his opponents, and to ratify the actions of recent Assemblies establishing the Presbyterian form of Church government. Leading

[1] Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 292-297; Baillie, i. 359-397.

Covenanters were appointed to the chief places in the government, and titles were distributed among others. Henderson, the champion of Presbyterian parity, was made dean of the chapel royal, with a stipend of 4000 merks a year. In the division of the ecclesiastical spoil made at this time, the Universities got a share which was not ill spent; but the same cannot be said of the portion which fell to the still grasping nobility, of whom Argyll was one. "Thus," says Peterkin, "did leading men, cities, and universities cast lots for the garments which had clothed the Episcopal establishment."[1]

The king's return was hastened by the news of the civil war in Ireland, where the Roman Catholics, tempted by the success of the Scottish Covenanters, had broken out into open rebellion, committing atrocities after the Irish fashion, which happily did not prevail in Scotland. Charles heard of the rebellion in the beginning of November, but other business delayed his departure until the 19th. At a banquet which he gave to his nobles in Holyrood palace, he was assured by Loudon, the chancellor, that he was departing "a contented prince from a contented people." If by "the people" was meant the Covenanters, they had good reason to be contented, for they had got all that they wanted, and much more than at first they had bargained for; but the contentment of the king was another matter, and his own feelings would doubtless have found expression in different language.

Charles had not strengthened his position by his visit to Scotland, and on his return to England he found the breach between himself and his subjects widening every

[1] *Acts of Parl. Scot.* v. 370-379; Balfour, iii. 45 *seq.*; Baillie, i. 385-398; Guthrie, pp. 84-93; Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 184-187.

day. At length, to escape personal violence he removed from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and thence to York; finally, on the 22nd August 1642, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham. It would be beside our purpose to follow the course of that eventful struggle except as it bears on the history of the Scottish Church.

On the eve of the war, 27th July, the Assembly met at St. Andrews, where Robert Douglas, recently appointed a minister in Edinburgh, and hereafter a prominent leader of the Church, presided as moderator. A friendly letter from the king, and a declaration from the English Parliament, defending its conduct in the purging of religion, and seeking an alliance with the Scots, were laid before the Assembly. In their answer to the king they referred to their "desire for unity in religion, and uniformity of Church government, as a special means of conserving peace between the two kingdoms." They were more cordial in their reply to the Parliament, expressing the hope that both nations might be united by a Church professing one faith, worship, and government, and that the prelatic hierarchy, the origin of their common woes, might be plucked up by the roots.[1] The documents were entrusted to lord Maitland, now a high-flying Covenanter, and better known as the duke of Lauderdale in the next reign. The king in his answer warned the Scots not to trust the English Puritans, who, he said, were at heart as hostile to Presbytery as they were to Episcopacy. The English Parliament in its reply announced the intention of calling an assembly of divines to determine the questions at issue, and requested the Scots Assembly to send some of their members for the compilation of a uniform Confession, Directory, and Catechism. To show that they were in earnest they proceeded to abolish Episco-

[1] Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 320-333; Baillie, ii. 44-54.

pacy in England, root and branch. The Covenanters concluded that no other system but their own could possibly take its place; but in this they either deceived themselves, or were hoodwinked by the English Puritans.[1]

A desire for reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects found expression in a document in which a section of the Scots proposed that the queen should act as mediator, and pledged themselves that, in the event of failure, they would support the throne. Henderson, among others, signed it, so exposing himself to suspicion and reproach from the more extreme of his friends. The Privy Council was also divided about publishing the declarations of the king and the English Parliament. Hamilton favoured the king's, and Balmerino advocated the publication of both, while the earls of Lanark and Argyll fell out, "and they two," says Burnet, "let fly at one another for a while with much eagerness." Argyll and Hamilton also fell out at this time, and went their different ways, the latter to oligarchy and the king, the former to democracy and the kirk, but both, as it proved, to the same goal—the scaffold. Another attempt was made at reconciliation through a petition to the Council, signed by many noblemen and gentlemen, and known as the "Cross Petition"; "but the preachers threatened damnation to all the authors and subscribers of it, and detestable neutrality became the head on which they spent their eloquence." Their voice was still for war.[2]

Disputes had lately arisen on the question of Church patronage. During the previous four years, the Assembly had assumed authority to move and remove ministers as they thought best for the good of the Church, without

[1] Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 197; Baillie, ii. 55; Rushworth's *Collections*, v. 390-392.

[2] Burnet's *Memoirs*, pp. 206-209.

consulting either patrons or people. It was probably the wisest course they could then have adopted. Charles had suggested that in the case of Crown patronage the presbytery should transmit to him a leet of six ministers, from whom he should make his choice; but the presbyteries found it difficult to name one efficient minister, to say nothing of six. Argyll, who was diligent in his attendance at Assemblies, offered for himself and the noblemen present to transfer to the presbyteries and people the right of election, provided the Assembly would bind all future presentees never to seek an augmentation of their stipends. The unworthy offer was rejected; but it shows that Argyll's love of the Covenant stood second to his love of the Church's patrimony which he had pocketed. No settlement was then arrived at; and Church patronage continued a bone of contention for many years to come.[1]

The Assembly, more harmonious than the Parliament, was at this period the real governing power in Scotland. It met in Edinburgh on the 2nd August 1643, with Sir Thomas Hope, the lord advocate, as royal commissioner, the first commoner who had held that office, and Henderson, as moderator, for the third time. A deputation from the English Parliament, Sir William Armine, Sir Harry Vane, two other members of the Commons, and two ministers, Marshall and Nye, landed at Leith and were introduced to the Assembly. They congratulated the Scots on their reforming zeal, and reported that they had done a like good work for England in abolishing Episcopacy and ejecting the bishops from the House of Lords. They further presented letters from Parliament and from the Westminster divines, who had begun their sittings under Twiss, the prolocutor. Another letter was read,

[1] Baillie, ii. 47, 48.

subscribed by more than seventy English ministers, seeking an alliance with the Scots in the war against the royalists. The Assembly was divided as to its answer. Some still cherished the hope that Scotland might be a mediator and not a party in the strife, seeing they had now no ground of quarrel with the king; others objected to the civil league desired by the English Puritans, and insisted upon a religious Covenant.

The outcome was the Solemn League and Covenant, drafted by Henderson, and accepted by the Assembly and by the Convention of the Estates, which was then in session. Eight members — Henderson, Baillie, Douglas, Rutherford, Gillespie (ministers), and the earl of Cassillis, lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnstone (Warriston) — were appointed a committee to present it to the English Parliament and Assembly of divines, and to conclude a treaty on its basis. In St. Margaret's church, Westminster, the document was subscribed on the 22nd September by the divines, the members of the Lower House, and the few peers that now formed the skeleton of an Upper House.[1] It bound them to endeavour "the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and everything else contrary to sound doctrine." It was circulated from parish to parish all over Scotland, and the committee of Estates enforced its subscription by every person, under the penalty of confiscation of their goods. The choice lay between the Solemn League and Covenant and beggary.[2]

There can be no justification of tyranny like this in the name of religious liberty, and what followed was

[1] "The voice of one just and wise man, Richard Baxter, was raised against this indiscriminate enforcement of so minute and terrible a confession."—Dean Stanley's *Church of Scotland*, p. 74.

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.* vi. 41-43; Baillie, ii. 83-97; Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 345-360.

equally unjustifiable. The Scots had no longer any quarrel with the king; yet after subscribing the new Covenant they made common cause with the puritan Parliament of England, and sent Leslie, now earl of Leven, across the border with more than 20,000 men. The General, when raised to the earldom, had promised never to draw sword against his sovereign; still he did so, on the pretext that religion and his country's liberties were at stake. The royal army had at first a slight advantage over the parliamentary, and while it is doubtful whether success would have eventually fallen to the royalists, the intervention of the Scots materially contributed to their defeat and to the overthrow of the monarchy. Some writers defend the action of the Scottish nation and its breach of faith with Charles on the flimsy plea that if they had not broken faith with the king, he might have beaten the parliamentary troops, and then in his triumph have broken faith with them. Such reasoning would be destructive of all confidence between men and nations.[1]

[1] Baillie, ii. 99-102.

# CHAPTER XIV

## CHARLES I.—FROM BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR, 1643, TO KING'S EXECUTION, 1649

Opening of Westminster Assembly—The six Scottish representatives—Publication of Directory for public worship, and suppression under penalty of Book of Common Prayer—Royalists in Scotland—Montrose's victories—His defeat at Philiphaugh—Covenanters' cruelties to prisoners—Execution of Scottish royalists—Final defeat of king's army at Naseby—Negotiations between king and Parliament—Charles seeks refuge in Scots' camp—His correspondence with Henderson on Church polity—Scots surrender king to English Parliament for "a consideration"—Westminster Confession of Faith in 1647, and Catechism in 1648—Close of Westminster Assembly—King signs the "Engagement" at Carisbrook—Covenanting insurrection at Mauchline—Defeat of Scots Royalists at Preston—Cromwell in Edinburgh—Meeting of the Estates in 1649—Purging it of Malignants—Political character and power of the General Assembly—Execution of the king.

ATTENTION was now turned to the Westminster Assembly, which had commenced its sittings under an ordinance of the English Parliament on the 1st July 1643. It was composed nominally of 151 members, of whom 121 were ministers, 10 lords, and 20 commoners, the laymen acting as assessors. On the opening day there were barely 70 present, and the average attendance did not exceed 60. The majority were Presbyterians of the puritan order, the rest were Independents. Four bishops attended the first meetings, but on the publication of the king's prohibition they withdrew. Six of the eight commis-

sioners named by the General Assembly—Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, Gillespie, ministers, and lord Maitland and Sir Archibald Johnstone, elders—attended at Westminster some months after the opening of its Assembly.[1] The Scotsmen insisted upon being regarded as an independent committee, representative of the Church of Scotland. They had hard fighting to get a recognised place in the new scheme of Church polity for their "lay elders," and not less difficulty in resisting the claim of Independents that each congregation should be considered a Church in itself, competent to ordain ministers and so forth. The ability of the Scots and their native pertinacity carried the day, and obtained for them an influence in the Assembly out of all proportion to their numbers. But Baillie, who gives, as usual with him, a graphic description of the debates, makes the candid admission that the success of the Scots divines in the Assembly was largely ruled by the success of the Scots army in the battlefield.

Of the six Scottish representatives at Westminster, Alexander Henderson stands first as the champion of Presbytery, probably a greater statesman than scholar or divine, but in every respect a remarkable man. He had taught philosophy in St. Andrews, been parish minister of Leuchars under Episcopacy, and at present held one of the city charges in Edinburgh. Robert Baillie, minister of Kilwinning, was now professor in Glasgow University. Like Henderson he had once been partial to Episcopacy, and both men were more moderate in their opinions than the main body of the Covenanters. His *Letters* and *Journal*, which betray a lively fancy and some little vanity,

[1] The earl of Cassilis and Douglas the minister, the other two Scots Commissioners, did not attend; and, judging from the records, Johnstone was not often present.

afford the fullest information of the Covenanting period, while his stores of learning and retentive memory made him a valuable referee in the Westminster Assembly. It was said that he was offered a bishopric at the Restoration; he accepted what suited him better, the principalship of Glasgow University. Samuel Rutherford's oratory and correspondence have already been mentioned. He is described as "a little fair man," and is eulogised as "the flower of the Church" and the saint of the Covenant. He united personal piety with a warmth of language which his biographer admits is sometimes hardly compatible with decency. He was principal of St. Mary's college, St. Andrews, and the author of several controversial works, the best known being his *Lex Rex, a Plea for the People's Rights*, which was considered so seditious that it was publicly burnt at the Restoration. So greatly was his memory revered in after days among the Covenanters that, "like a mediæval saint, he has attracted round him the godly, who desired that they might be laid even where his body was buried"[1]—beside the ruined cathedral of St. Andrews. George Gillespie had the briefest career of all, and in personal gifts was perhaps inferior to none of them. He had already won notoriety when a youth, in 1637, by an attack upon the Anglican ceremonies in a work which was ordered to be burnt, and ten years later he was the most violent opponent of the engagement with the king.[2] At Westminster he is said to have held his own in argument with the best debaters, and to have had a chief hand in framing the most important measures of the Assembly. From his brilliant gifts and brief life, he has been described as "one of that peculiar class of

[1] Bonar's *Life*, p. xxvi.

[2] Burnet says of Gillespie that he was "of good parts, but bold beyond all measure."—*Memoir of Dukes of Hamilton*, anno 1647, p. 319.

men who start like meteors into sudden splendour, shine with dazzling brilliancy, then suddenly set behind the tomb, leaving their compeers equally to admire and deplore." He was now one of the Edinburgh ministers, filled the moderator's chair in the General Assembly of August 1648, and died at the close of that year. Maitland's earlier career as a Covenanter is less known than his later as a royalist, when he came to be duke of Lauderdale and a bitter persecutor of his former co-religionists—a not uncommon case with converts. Johnstone of Warriston was a thorough-going partisan of the Covenant, sincere and consistent, but bitter in his religious animosities, and in party warfare "hating men for the love of God." His legal learning, no less than his polemical zeal, enabled him to render the greatest service of any layman to the Covenanting cause. Bishop Burnet, his nephew, says of him that "he would often pray in his family two hours at a time," and that "he had very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a day." On the death of Sir Thomas Hope, he became lord advocate of Scotland, and in his old age died on the scaffold.[1]

Baillie and Gillespie reported to the Assembly, which met in Edinburgh in May 1644, the progress made at Westminster. One feature in the constitution and proceedings of the Assembly at Westminster was thoroughly opposed to Covenanting principles—the ordinance of Parliament which convened it, and the control exercised by the State over its proceedings. When the Scottish commissioners first appeared they could only get admission by a warrant from the two Houses of Parliament. This was Erastianism as bad as any that had set their teeth on

[1] See Kirkton's *History*, ed. Sharpe, p. 41, note, for the Scottish representatives at Westminster.

edge in Scotland, but they had to submit. Baillie finds consolation for this from what the Assembly achieved in other fields; they were framing, he said, a Directory of Public Worship which would abolish "the great idol of England, the Service Book," and he reports with evident glee the abolition of another idol—not of England alone, but of Christendom—Christmas Day. "We prevailed," he writes, "with our friends of the Lower House to carry it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the Assembly's shame."[1]

The Directory was published in November 1644, and received the sanction of the English Parliament. Baillie and Gillespie were again sent north as delegates from Westminster to lay it before the Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in January 1645. Accepted by this Assembly, it was ordered to be observed by all ministers in the kingdom, and it was afterwards confirmed by the Scottish Parliament. No mention is made in it of Knox's Liturgy, which was quietly dropped, but it remarks of the English Book of Common Prayer that it "occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the book when it was set forth, but that it had since proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad," and "the gracious providence of God now called upon us for further reformation"—the outcome of which was the Directory.[2]

It is unnecessary to describe the Directory in detail, but the following six points are worthy of remark, if

[1] Baillie, ii. 107 *seq.*; Peterkin's *Records*, p. 400; Collier, viii. 247-252.

[2] In 1644 there was published at London "The New Book of Common Prayer, according to the forms of the Kirk of Scotland, our brethren in faith and Covenant." The forms are substantially the same as in Knox's Liturgy. It is probable that in Scotland at least they did not remain long in use after the adoption of the Directory. The New Book is printed in the first volume of Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*.

only to show how systematically they have been disregarded until recent years, when some partial attempt has been made to observe them. Lessons from the Bible were to be read at every diet of worship, and one from each Testament was recommended, without any exposition until the chapter was ended; the Lord's Prayer was to be used, not only "as a pattern of prayer but itself a comprehensive prayer"; the Communion or Supper of the Lord was to be celebrated frequently; marriage was always to be solemnised in church; praying and reading and singing at funerals were forbidden, though the occasion might be improved by putting the mourners "in remembrance of their duty"; and solemn fasts were to be observed, not only by a cessation from servile labours and worldly amusements, but by a total abstinence from food "unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature when ready to faint." One can only say that the Directory has for many a long day been more honoured in the breach of its precepts than in their observance by those who nominally adhere to it in Scotland.

The adoption of the Directory for public worship was followed by the prohibition, under the severest penalties, of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in Scotland, but in England and Ireland, both in public and in private. "The Puritans," says Macaulay, "had undoubtedly in the day of their power given cruel provocation. They ought to have learned, if from nothing else, yet from their own discontents, from their own struggles, from their own victory, from the fall of that proud hierarchy by which they had been so heavily oppressed, that, in England, and in the seventeenth century, it was not in the power of the civil magistrate to drill the minds of men into conformity

with his own system of theology. They proved, however, as intolerant and as meddling as ever Laud had been. They interdicted under heavy penalties, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians."[1]

Important events at home recall our attention from the Westminster divines to the royalists in Scotland. Early in 1644 Huntly raised the king's banner in the north and failed, and Montrose, now a marquis, was equally unsuccessful in the south. Success also attended the arms of the Covenanters in the capture of Newcastle, when the earl of Crawford and Dr. George Wishart were made prisoners, brought to Edinburgh, and confined in the Thieves' Hole of the common jail, where, in company with the lowest criminals, they had to fight for their lives with swarms of rats.

Montrose soon retrieved his first defeat, and at the head of a motley army of Highlanders and Irishmen swept over Scotland like a "fiery besom" for a twelvemonth. On the 1st September 1644 he defeated lord Elcho at Tibbermuir, west of Perth, and entered that town; he then proceeded to Aberdeen, which he took by storm on the 12th, and, as he had twice before coerced its inhabitants into submission to the Covenant, he now chastised them for having submitted to it. He gained in rapid succession the battles of Fyvie, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth, but was surprised and defeated at Philiphaugh near Selkirk on the 12th September 1645. A year and twelve days summed up the brilliant yet fruitless campaign of the gallant Graham, first marquis of Montrose.

[1] *Hist. Eng.* chap. ii. p. 79.

Montrose himself and a few followers escaped from Philiphaugh on horseback. A portion of his infantry stubbornly defended themselves within an enclosure, and only surrendered on promise that their lives should be spared. But the day of retaliation had come, and the watchward was, "Woe to the vanquished." The ministers who accompanied the Covenanting army called out for vengeance, and cited Old Testament precedents, Agag and Amalek;[1] and so, in breach of the general's promise, the Irish prisoners of Philiphaugh were mercilessly executed on the spot without assize or process. Some were slaughtered in the courtyard of Newark castle, others were thrown headlong into the Ettrick and Yarrow, and drowned or dashed to pieces.[2] No doubt they had been guilty of many excesses, chiefly of robbery and pillage, but since they were prisoners of war under an honourable pledge, their massacre affixes an indelible stain on the character of their executioners.

Other royalists of mark, prisoners at Philiphaugh, suffered with more formality of law. Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvie of Inverarity, a youth of eighteen, were beheaded at Glasgow in October. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the earl of Airlie, William Murray, brother of the earl of Tullibardine, Colonel Nathanael Gordon, Captain Guthrie, son of the bishop of Moray, and Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son of the late primate and formerly president of the Court of Session, were accused of treason before the Parliament. They pleaded the king's commission and the promise of quarter when taken prisoners. The pleas were disregarded, and with the exception of lord Ogilvie, who escaped from prison by the aid of his sister, they were all beheaded at St.

[1] Warriston demanded justice upon the officers of Montrose's army, who were afterwards executed.

[2] Lawson's *History*, p. 647.

Andrews. Spottiswoode stood in an exceptional position. He held the king's commission as Secretary of State for Scotland; he was no soldier and had borne no arms against the Covenant, nor was he guilty of any crime; only he was a royalist and the son of an archbishop. On the day before his execution he wrote to Montrose exhorting him to endeavour to win back the people to the royal cause by fair and gentle carriage and not by the inhumanities practised by the king's enemies, and at the same time commending the care of his orphan children to the marquis. His last words on the scaffold were—"Merciful Jesu, gather my soul to thy saints and martyrs, who have run this race before me."[1]

The Covenanting cause was stained by these executions; and though forgiveness is a Christian duty, and an act of oblivion might well have been passed in the high court of charity, yet it is no wonder that these cruelties were remembered twenty years afterwards when the Royalists were in power and the Covenanters under their heel. No apology can be made for either royalist or covenanting intolerance, but it is only historic justice to point out that the barbarities of persecution were not all on the one side.[2]

The king's cause was now hopeless. At Marston Moor, near York, the parliamentary troops under Crom-

[1] Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, Eng. translation, pp. 222 *seq.*; *ibid.* ed. Murdoch and Simpson, pp. 157-173; Balfour, iii. 307-364; Guthrie's *Memoirs*, pp. 160-169; Lawson's *Hist.* pp. 647 and 653, for slaughter of the peasantry of Cantyre at the instigation of Argyll and a "bloody preacher," John Nevay.

[2] Dr. Cunningham, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 148, remarks on the slaughter at Philiphaugh—"These barbarities were remembered afterwards, when the tide of fortune was turned, and we do not wonder that they were"; and Dr. Rankin, *Hist. Scot.* ed. Story, ii. 525, writes with equal candour—"It is only fair to record these barbarities perpetrated on Episcopalians and Loyalists by the Scots Estates when in sympathy with the Covenanting leaders, for it was these and like excesses that prompted the terrible revenge that for twenty-eight years followed the Restoration of 1660."

well and David Leslie had defeated the royalists under Prince Rupert in July 1644. Laud, after three years' imprisonment in the Tower, followed Strafford to the scaffold, 10th January 1645, a victim to the resentment of the English Puritans.[1] In June 1645 the decisive battle of Naseby gave the victory to Cromwell's "Ironsides," and the chivalry of the cavaliers was finally crushed. Three months afterwards, the defeat of Montrose, already described, extinguished the last hope of the royalists.

Meetings had been held at Uxbridge in the beginning of 1645 between commissioners of the king and of Parliament, but without result. Charles would not concede the demands of the Puritans. Flushed with military success the Parliament now insisted that Episcopacy and the Liturgy must be put down and a Puritan Church set up in the three kingdoms. Again Charles refused, and the conference broke up.

Henderson was the chief spokesman at Uxbridge on the Puritan side. He had another opportunity next year of arguing the questions at issue with the king, for, to the surprise of the nation, Charles, on the 5th May 1646, presented himself in the Scottish camp while their army was besieging Newark in Notts. From Newark the Scots retired to Newcastle, and there Charles, who was virtually a prisoner in their hands, discussed, by letters with Henderson, the relative merits of Episcopacy and Presbytery.

One effect of the discussion, not usual in such cases, was to deepen their respect for each other. So much was this the case, that when Henderson died in Edinburgh on the 19th August following, rumours were current that on his death-bed he had expressed repentance for the part he had taken against the king. The General Assembly of 1648 was at pains to contradict the reports of Henderson's

[1] See Anderson's *Colonial Church*, i. 435.

recantation. The probability is that they sprang from nothing more than the dying man's expressed regard for the king's personal piety and urbanity.[1]

Charles was now importuned on every side to sacrifice his religious convictions and abolish Episcopacy. Commissioners from the Scottish and English Parliaments pleaded with him; lord Leven and the officers of his army entreated him; Hamilton, released from imprisonment, repaired to Newcastle and besought his majesty to save his crown by the sacrifice of the Church.

Pending these negotiations the English Parliament in July sought to induce the Scots army to retire from England. The Scots were ready to go on condition of payment for their military services. Nearly two millions of money was their claim, which was reduced after much haggling to £400,000, and this the English agreed to pay in four instalments, the first before the Scots army left Newcastle.

A not less important question was the disposal of the king. The English Parliament claimed a superior right in the sovereign, whom they had defied in the forum and beaten in the field until he was driven as a fugitive into the Scots camp. The Scottish Parliament demurred to their claim, but there was a power in Scotland more potent than the Parliament. The Commission of the Assembly was now predominant in Church and State. Charles would have come to Scotland and thrown himself upon the loyalty of its people, but the Commission would not suffer him to set a foot in his native country until he had first subscribed the Covenant and agreed to enforce it upon the conscience of every subject in the land. On the 17th December (1646)

[1] Aiton's *Life of Henderson*, pp. 599, 606, 664; Gillan's *Life of Sage*, pp. 72-75; Baillie, ii. 382-387; Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 277, 278; Grub, iii. 116-122.

they issued "A Solemn and Seasonable Warning to all Estates and Degrees of Persons throughout the Land," in which they denounced the indulgence shown to the royalists and declared their intention, unless the king complied with their demands, to pursue their ends against all opposition. On the 5th January 1647 commissioners were appointed by the English Parliament to receive the king; on the 23rd, after a residence with the Scots of eight months, he was transferred into English hands; and on the 30th the Scots army marched out of Newcastle with £100,000 paid.

It is one of the vexed questions of history whether or not the Scots sold their king to the English. It is certain that they refused to surrender him until they had got the money, and the transaction bears an ugly look. But it may be well believed that the scaffold in Whitehall was not within their purview when they parted with their unhappy monarch. They were entitled to the money apart from any question of surrendering the king, but the money would not have been paid if the king had not been surrendered.[1]

The Westminster Assembly brought its labours to an end in 1648, after having sat intermittently for five and a half years and held 1163 sittings. Following the Directory of Public Worship it produced in 1647 the "Westminster Confession of Faith," and in 1648 the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Francis Rous, a Cornishman, member of the House of Commons, and latterly provost of Eton college under the Commonwealth, prepared the metrical version of the Psalms which was adopted by the Presbyterians, who thus received from England the complete equipment of

[1] Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 489, 490; Baillie, iii. 4, 5; Rushworth's *Collection*, vi. 390-398; Burnet's *Memoirs*, pp. 279-312; *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 192-195. Macaulay and Burton both condemn the transaction. *Hist. Eng.* chap. i. p. 59; *Hist. Scot.* vi. 408.

their faith and worship. In the face of this, it is the veriest parody of history to represent Episcopacy in Scotland as English because of the ordination of its bishops on two occasions in England, or because of the use of the English liturgy, and at the same time to hold up Presbytery as Scottish, while every religious symbol that the Presbyterians possess—Bible, Directory, Confession, Catechisms, metrical Psalter—are all of them of English production.

Charles was taken first to Holmby House and then to Hampton Court. Weary of captivity he escaped to the Isle of Wight, and found himself again a prisoner in Carisbrook castle. At Hampton Court he had been visited by Hamilton, who had been created a duke in 1643, and by the earls of Loudon, Lanark, and Lauderdale, as a commission from the Scottish Estates to negotiate an agreement. They followed the king to Carisbrook, and at last the hunted monarch, sorely humbled, agreed to give parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, provided that no man should be compelled to take it against his conscience; and to set up Presbytery by way of trial for three years in England, and then to establish such an ecclesiastical polity as the Westminster divines, with twenty commissioners nominated by the king, should determine. This treaty, known as the Engagement, was signed on the 26th December 1647.[1]

The commissioners reported the terms of the Engagement to a meeting of the Estates held at Edinburgh in March 1648. The Estates accepted the treaty, but the Commission of the Assembly, supported by Argyll and the rigid Covenanters, condemned it as insufficient.[2] The king himself, they insisted, must become a Presbyterian,

[1] So secretly was the Engagement gone about that the original document was hidden in a garden at Newport, I.W., encased in lead to keep it from decay.—Burton, vi. 410.

[2] Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 365.

and the whole island, south and north, must accept the Covenant, and become Presbyterian for all time coming. This brought the Scots Parliament and Assembly into direct conflict. The Estates published a declaration of their principles, and the Commission of Assembly did the same, and ordered every parish minister to preach against the Engagement. The result was a general fermentation, and a rising of the Covenanters in the west. Two thousand of them, under their ministers, assembled in arms at Mauchline Moor in June 1648, where they were routed by general Middleton. The Parliament now broke away from the trammels of the Assembly, and sent a heterogeneous army of twenty thousand men into England to co-operate with the English royalists. Bad discipline and divided counsels led to their complete defeat at Preston by Cromwell on the 18th August, and Hamilton and many others were made prisoners.[1]

This defeat, in which the "Remonstrants" against the Engagement rejoiced as in a special mercy, although it was the defeat of their own countrymen, threw political power again into the hands of Argyll and his faction. Crowds of wild Covenanters from the west hurried into Edinburgh; the committee of Estates fled before them, and Argyll was once more supreme. This escapade was known as the "Whiggamore's Raid," and in the abbreviated form of Whig it gave its name to a political party in the State. Cromwell marched from Preston to Edinburgh, and was welcomed by these new allies. He had frequent discourse with Argyll, subscribed the Covenant, and was feasted in the Parliament House. He had intercourse also with Dickson, Blair, and other ministers representing the Commission of the General Assembly, and the hardy Oliver is said to have shed tears of joy over the new

[1] Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 353, 358.

alliance. Dickson was delighted, and said to Blair, "I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does," to which the more wary Blair answered—"If you knew him as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says."[1]

In the beginning of January 1649 the Estates met. The dominant faction were careful to weed it of all malignants and friends to the Engagement; and they confirmed this action by passing the "Act of Classes," which excluded from every kind of office or trust all opponents of their policy, unless they first did public penance to the satisfaction of the judicatories of the Kirk. Many of them did so, and a more humiliating spectacle or one more derogatory to the Scottish reputation for independence cannot well be imagined.[2] While Pryde was purging the English Parliament, the Protesters were equally drastic in purging the Scottish Parliament. In due time the retributory nemesis overtook them both.

The government of Scotland, from causes already described, had fallen into the hands of a set of religionists most incompetent to guide it. They had protested in former days against bishops sitting in Parliament and in the Privy Council, as secularising the Church, and now the whole politics of the kingdom were dragged by them into the arena of their Assembly and its formidable Commission. Politics rather than religion had been their principal business for some years, and the anarchy and

[1] *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 208-212.

[2] Kirkton's *History*, p. 48; *Acts of Parl. Scot.* vi. 341, 352; Balfour, iii. 373-377; Guthrie, pp. 235-253; Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 354-375. Burton, vi. 421-424 remarks—"Through all the wild work of this period, the utterances of the Legislature and the supreme tribunals generally preserve a grave decorum, but these Acts ('Classes') are full of vehement raving." Warriston is credited with drafting them. Argyll's speech on passing the Act was called "the breaking of the Malignants' teeth," and that of Warriston who followed him was "the breaking of their jaws."

terror that prevailed, until the strong arm of Cromwell delivered Scotland from their tyranny, is proof of their fanatical folly.[1]

The Engagement with Charles at Carisbrook was the last effort of his Scottish subjects to save him. Had he agreed to the same humiliating terms at Newcastle the political prospect in Scotland would have been changed, but whether to the king's advantage or not is doubtful. It was too late now. The Remonstrants were too strong for the Engagers. Charles was taken from Carisbrook to Hurst castle, and from that in the month of December to Windsor where he was permitted a short interview with Hamilton who was still a prisoner. The duke knelt and kissed the king's hand, calling him "my dear master." "I have been so indeed to you," said the king as he embraced him. The two men parted, both of them bound for the scaffold. Charles was brought to London in January 1649, put on his trial on the 20th, and condemned to death on Saturday the 27th. On the morning of the 30th he received the Holy Communion from bishop Juxon, and in the afternoon he was beheaded before his palace of Whitehall. In their estimate of the character and career of Charles the First all parties are agreed on one point, "that nothing in his life became him so well as the manner in which he left it."

[1] Two Presbyterian Church historians, Principal Lee and Dr. Cook, remark upon the political aspect of the Kirk at this time. Lee, *Hist. Ch.* ii. 309, and Cook, *Hist. Ch.* iii. 163.

# CHAPTER XV

## CHARLES II. AND THE COMMONWEALTH—FROM EXECUTION OF CHARLES I., 1649, TO RESTORATION OF CHARLES II., 1660

Covenanters' terms with Charles II.—Execution of Huntly—Deputation visits Charles at the Hague—Their report to Assembly—Fanaticism of Covenanters—Montrose's last campaign, defeat, and execution—Second deputation to Charles at Breda—His arrival in Scotland—Cromwell's return—Defeats Scots army at Dunbar and takes possession of Edinburgh and Glasgow—Charles's coronation at Scone—Dissension among the Scots in Parliament and in Assembly—Covenanters split into "Resolutioners" and "Protesters"—Cromwell follows Scots army and defeats it at Worcester—Monk's subjugation of Scotland—Condition of the country after thirteen years of the Covenant—Commonwealth established—Colonel Cotterel disperses the Assembly—Cromwell's ecclesiastical polity—Resolutioners and Protesters before Cromwell—Covenanting tyranny in Aberdeen—English sectaries in Scotland—Persecution of Romanists—Death of Cromwell—Sharp as an agent of the Resolutioners—Restoration of Charles—Sharp's interview with king—Rescissory Act of Scots Parliament—Executions of Argyll, James Guthrie, Govan, and Warriston—The Synods and Episcopacy—King's bad faith.

CHARLES II. was proclaimed king at the cross of Edinburgh on the 5th February 1649, within a week of his father's death. The Scottish Estates two days afterwards passed an Act which required that the king, before being admitted to the exercise of his rights as sovereign, should subscribe the Covenants, accept the Westminster formularies, and agree that civil affairs be transacted in Parliament, and ecclesiastical affairs in the Assembly. On the

9th March they abolished Church patronage, and recommended that the General Assembly should provide through the presbyteries for the interests of congregations. They also appointed a commission of seven persons, including the earl of Cassillis and Baillie the minister, to visit the king in Holland and to offer him the crown upon these terms.

The Scottish Estates professed to lament the execution of Charles as a crime, and yet they executed the marquis of Huntly for no other fault than his loyalty. He made no effort to save himself, and declared that his chief desire, now that the king his master was gone, was to follow him to a better world. On the morning of his execution, 22nd March, he came down from the castle (Edinburgh), where he had been a prisoner for two years, dressed in the mourning garb which he had worn since the king's death. On the scaffold he declared his loyalty to the king, and his faith in the reformed Catholic Church, and recommended the same to the people. "And thus," says the chronicler, "the cruel and merciless Covenant swept away this faithful and constant royalist to follow his master." [1]

The deputation appointed by the Estates sailed from Kirkcaldy on the 17th March, and met Charles in his little court at the Hague, where Baillie propitiated the young king by a speech expressive of their "mournful sorrow for that execrable and tragic parricide, that hardly expressible crime"—the death of the late king—"which stamps and stigmatises with a new and before unseen character of infamy the face of the whole generation of sectaries and their adherents from whose hearts and hands that vilest villainy did proceed." [2] The speech was plausible in Baillie, and pleasant to Charles; but when they

[1] Gordon's *Abridgement of Britain's Distemper*, pp. 223-226; Burnet's *Memoirs*, pp. 333, 353; Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 350; *Maitland Club Misc.* ii. 422; Balfour, iii. 393.

[2] Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 85.

proceeded to business and sought to impose the Covenants and the Westminster standards not only on the king but on his three kingdoms without distinction, Charles told them they were asking more than he had any right to promise on behalf of his subjects. It is said that his first inclination was to prefer exile to the Covenants; but his impressions were never very deep, nor his scruples very formidable; and his conscience, which was of the elastic order, got over difficulties insurmountable to other men. His court was divided in its advice respecting the proposals from Scotland, and the Commission had to rest satisfied with presenting to the king copies of the two Covenants and the Westminster documents, "bound together," says Baillie, "in a book so handsome as we could get them."[1]

Their report of the conference with the king was made to the Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in July 1649, under Douglas, the successor of Henderson in the leadership of his party. In the same fanatical spirit as of old they decreed that all who had been favourable to the Engagement, and all royalists, whom they designated malignants, should submit to Church discipline or suffer the penalty of excommunication; and likewise that the Parliament and the army should both be purged of malignants. The same spirit prompted the Assembly to appoint visiting committees to perambulate the country and depose suspected ministers who had been spared by presbyteries and synods.[2]

Montrose, on the death of Charles I., had expressed his determination to place his master's son on the throne of Scotland, or perish in the attempt. He received his

[1] *Letters*, iii. 87.

[2] Peterkin's *Records*, pp. 542-559, 588, 589; Baillie, iii. 91-97; Balfour, iii. 430; Dalziel's *Hist. University of Edin.* ii. 148.

commission from the king in the spring of 1650, and left Holland with about seven hundred men, enlisted abroad. He arrived in the Orkneys, where he enrolled a few more recruits for his enterprise; and from the islands he crossed into Caithness. Before many days' march he was met by Colonel Strachan with an army of Covenanters at Invercarron, near the present railway station at Bonar Bridge. There his motley force was defeated and dispersed on the 27th April. Montrose took refuge in the wilds of Assynt, where he was captured and given up, apparently by treachery, to the Covenanters. He was taken to Edinburgh where he had no mercy to expect, and found none. The day before he reached the capital, 17th May, he was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, and the sentence was executed at the market cross with every conceivable barbarity and indignity on the 21st May. Montrose's personal appearance was commanding, and on the day of his execution it lost nothing by the special pains bestowed upon his dress. Huntly had gone to the scaffold in the garments of mourning; Montrose went like a bridegroom adorned for marriage. There was always a dash of the gallant about the marquis, and he was as brilliant in speech on the scaffold as he had often been in arms on the battlefield. His last words addressing the people were: "I beg you of your charity to judge me fairly, and desire the prayers of the good for the salvation of my soul, soon to be freed from the prison of this body. I pray for you all, and earnestly but humbly implore God to avert the wrath so long impending over this poor kingdom. Let men triumph as they will over the perishing remains of this body; but never shall they hinder me to love, reverence, and fear God, and to honour the king, in death as in life. I leave my soul to God and my Redeemer, my service

to the king, my honour to my country and posterity, my goodwill to my friends, and to you all my truest love." In accordance with the barbarous sentence, his body after death was beheaded and quartered, his head being fixed on the Edinburgh Tolbooth, and his limbs exposed at the market crosses of Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen. All this indignity was remembered afterwards by the royalists, and we cannot wonder at retaliation, however much we may deplore it. Argyll, a gratified witness of his great rival's fate, was himself the next victim of the executioner. Several of the officers of Montrose were also executed for their share in his "treason," and among them, John Spottiswoode, grandson of the archbishop.[1]

A second commission from Scotland had waited upon the king at Breda in 1650, and after the failure of Montrose's expedition, which Charles now repudiated, he agreed to the commissioners' terms. Alexander Jaffray, one of their number, recorded in after years his sense of the transaction as follows: "We did sinfully entangle and engage the nation and ourselves, and that poor young prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a Covenant which we knew from clear and demonstrable reasons that he hated in his heart. Yet finding that upon these terms only he could be admitted to rule over us (all other means having then failed him), *he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him; where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was more than *his*."[2]

Charles arrived at Speymouth in June 1650, and before he left the ship was compelled to subscribe the

[1] Napier's *Montrose and the Covenanters*, ii. 530-549; Wishart's *Memoirs*, pp. 335-337; *ibid.* ed. Murdoch and Simpson, pp. 322-334; Baillie, iii. 61; Balfour, iv. 8-32; Clarendon, pp. 741-743; Aytoun's *Lays of the Cavaliers*; see also Article in the *Scottish Review* for July 1884.

[2] *Diary of Alex. Jaffray*, p. 55.

Covenants.[1] The commissioners had permitted Hamilton and Lauderdale, for their services in persuading the king, to accompany him to Scotland. The Covenanters at home were less indulgent, and ordered them to be gone. Argyll met the king with specious professions of loyalty, but it was soon apparent that the marquis meant to be master. The young king had now closer experience of the Covenanters when compelled to cast his lot among them. Burnet says that under the severe discipline "he wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could, hearing many prayers and sermons, some of great length. I remember in one fast-day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself," he adds, "and not a little weary of so tedious a service." The king must have been worse than weary, for they lectured him persistently on the idolatry of his mother and the blood-guiltiness of his father. Being told that they would not own him as their king until he had signed a document professing his sorrow at his parents' backslidings, declaring also his resolution to prosecute the covenanted work in his kingdoms, and confessing his former sinfulness in opposing the same—Charles flung honour to the winds and signed the declaration in Dunfermline on the 16th August.[2]

The arrival of Charles in Scotland brought Cromwell back, "fresh from his bloody career in Ireland."[3] He crossed the Tweed on the 16th July at the head of sixteen thousand veterans who had never turned their backs to a foe. The old earl of Leven had an army of thirty to forty thousand men lying in and around Edinburgh, of

[1] See *Letters and Papers, Charles Second and Scotland* in 1650, vol. xvii. p. 146, Scot. Hist. Society, ed. Gardiner.

[2] Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 422; *History of his Own Times*, i. 57, 58; Cook's *Hist.* iii. 191; vol. xvii. 147, Scot. Hist. Society.

[3] Burton, vii. 14.

which his nephew, David Leslie, practically assumed the command. This force had to be purged of malignants; the army of sectaries must be met by an army of saints, else the enterprise would be fatally doomed. In the process of purging about four thousand experienced soldiers were expelled. The general then issued to his army a proclamation which ran: "To all that are saints and partakers of the faith of God's elect in Scotland." Cromwell was just as convinced as his adversary that *he* led the army of the saints, and he could be as profuse with Scriptural quotations as any Covenanter among them. He advanced to Musselburgh within touch of the enemy's lines, but they were too strongly posted for attack, and he withdrew to Dunbar, followed closely by Leslie and his army. It was now Cromwell's turn to be anxiously pious, and he professed, "because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us." He found the way out for himself, or rather Leslie opened the way for him by descending from his strong position on the hill, a false move which made Cromwell exclaim—"They are coming down to us; God is delivering them into our hands." He was right as to the tactical mistake: Oliver's military discernment seldom failed him. On that September day (the 3rd) many a Covenanter bit the dust at Dunbar, for the army of the sectaries utterly routed the army of the saints.[1]

The victory at Dunbar gave Cromwell possession of Edinburgh. He found several of the ministers in the castle as refugees, and invited them to resume their clerical duties. Cromwell's officers[2] and corporals were

[1] Burnet's *History of his Times*, i. 57; Balfour's *Annals*, iv. 102-107.

[2] General Lambert had the West Kirk, Edinburgh, assigned to him by the Town Council to preach in.—Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 68, 69.

in the habit of preaching, and lay preaching was an abomination to the Covenanters.[1] When they remonstrated with Cromwell on the practice, he asked them if all that they preached was "infallibly agreeable to the Word of God," adding with mild but caustic irony, which pierced like one of his own bullets, "I beseech you, gentlemen, by the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." From Glasgow, Baillie says, the ministers and magistrates all fled, he himself going to the Isle of Cumbrae, at the approach of Cromwell and his troopers. Old Zachary Boyd held his post and "railed on them all to their very face in the High Church."[2]

The more rigid Covenanters, headed by Patrick Gillespie, minister at Glasgow (brother of George, of Westminster fame), by James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, and by colonel Strachan, now popular with the party from his defeat of Montrose, organised a small army in the west and published a remonstrance against the king and his advisers for their lack of zeal on behalf of the Covenants, denouncing at the same time the committee of Estates for their rapacity, and calling on all who were guilty among them to restore their dishonest wealth of which they had robbed the Church and the poor. Argyll, whom the cap fitted, was severe in his censures of the remonstrance, and Cromwell's soldiers were equally stern with the army of the Remonstrants, defeating them at Hamilton in December, after which Strachan went over to Cromwell.

In the midst of the national misery[3] the king was crowned at Scone on the 1st January 1651 after two

[1] The Covenanters said of Cromwell's preaching corporals that "they were weil gifted yet not ordourlie callit."

[2] Baillie, iii. 129.

[3] Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 126-128, paints in strong colours the deplorable condition of the country at this time.

days' fasting, the one for the sins of the country, the other for the sins of the king and his father's house. The crown, the sword, and the sceptre were at hand, but the old abbey church, the scene of many former coronations, was gone. Charles was crowned in the parish church, Argyll putting the crown on his head; while Robert Douglas improved the occasion by a long sermon in which he denounced impartially Engagers, Remonstrants, and Sectaries. He then turned to the king denouncing the sins of his parents, and warning him that only by avoiding their evil ways could he escape wrath and condemnation. There was no anointing in the ceremony; for, said the preacher, "the bishops, as limbs of antichrist, are put to the door; let the anointing of kings with oil go to the door with them." By way of compensation for this omission the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were read over to the king, and once more subscribed by him.

Dissensions were still rife in Church and State. The mischievous Act of Classes excluded half the able-bodied men of the country from serving in the army, as being tainted with so-called malignancy, and it reduced the members of Parliament to a mere remnant, at a time when the service of every available Scot was needed to save his country from becoming, what it did become for the first time in history, a conquered province of England, annexed by the sword of Cromwell. The committee of Estates would have repealed the Act at their meeting of 4th December 1650, but they stood in awe of the Church, which by its Commission "ruled all things, civil as well as sacred."[1] The Commission met on the 14th and gave a wary and qualified approval, requiring malignants to appear in church as penitents clothed in sackcloth before

[1] Dr. Cunningham, *Hist. Church Scot.* ii. 166.

they could enlist; and many, even some who had been campaigners with Montrose, went through the humiliating process. The Parliament, taking courage from the Commission, rescinded in May 1651 the suicidal Act that had disintegrated the nation to please a fanatical section. The Commission had still, however, to reckon with the Assembly. At a meeting of the Assembly at St. Andrews in July 1651, Cant, the moderator, preached in the forenoon against the Commission, and Douglas in the afternoon from the same pulpit defended it. A stormy debate followed, in which it was proposed to exclude the members of Commission from the Assembly for their scandalous conduct. Meanwhile some English soldiers had landed in Fife, and the members fled to Dundee, where they continued their bickerings. The leaders of the protesting party, Cant, Rutherford, Gillespie, Guthrie, and Menzies, did not, however, appear. Rutherford's protest, signed by twenty-two ministers, was read, challenging the lawfulness of the Assembly on the ground that both the king and the Commission had violated its freedom. The absence of the leading Protesters indicated that the more moderate section had triumphed, and they showed their moderation by now deposing Gillespie and Guthrie. From this time Presbyterianism was split into two hostile factions, the *Resolutioners* and the *Protesters*, the former, led by Douglas, Baillie, and Dickson, adhering to the resolutions of the Assembly; the latter protesting against them in the names of Cant and others before-mentioned. This Assembly, like that at St. Andrews, was abruptly terminated by the scare of English soldiers in the Firth of Tay.

We now pass again from the forum to the camp. The royalist soldiers were massed at Torwood, between Stirling and Falkirk. Cromwell, wary as before, not daring to attack them in their stronghold, crossed the Forth

at Queensferry and marched upon Perth, which he took without difficulty. He had now got behind the king's army and was ready to advance, when the royalists moved their camp and made a sudden march into England. Cromwell followed on their heels, and on the 3rd September, his "lucky day," the anniversary of Dunbar, he engaged the Scots army at Worcester and won his "crowning mercy." The king escaped to France, partly by the aid of Father Hudleston, who will be heard of again; the earl of Lauderdale and generals Leslie and Middleton were among the prisoners, and the second duke of Hamilton was, with many other Scots, among the slain.

General Monk was left by Cromwell in Scotland to complete its subjugation, which he effectively did in a few months. On the 1st September he took Dundee by storm. It had become a city of refuge for those who had been driven out of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth. During its siege the English soldiers captured the committee of the Estates—some forty in number—in the secluded village of Alyth, which they had supposed safe from invasion. Among those captured were the earls of Leven and Crawford, and the two ministers Douglas and Sharp. Monk had them all shipped off by sea to London, where they were detained for a time as prisoners, out of harm's way.

Such was the miserable end of thirteen years (1638-1651) of Covenanting ascendency in Scotland. The nobles, who were the instigators of the revolt against Charles I., saw their order crushed, many of them exiled and ruined in fortune, their Parliament closed, their nationality abolished, and all by a plebeian Protector who could be on occasion as despotic as any Stuart king. The Presbyterians who had contended, and in principle rightly, for their freedom of Assembly, but who had converted

their Assemblies into arenas of strife, and their Covenants into instruments of oppression, soon had the doors of their Assembly locked, their Covenants scorned, and their liberties placed at the mercy of a religious enthusiast as fanatical in some respects as themselves, but happily to them ten times more tolerant than they were to others. It was a strange and unexpected turn in the wheels of the nation's fortune. Who could have anticipated that this would be the outcome of the Liturgy riots of 1637 in Edinburgh, or of the covenanting Assembly of 1638 in Glasgow?

Scotland had ceased to be a nation as well as a kingdom, and was no more than a province in the Commonwealth of England. Its ecclesiastical polity, like its civil, was in complete subordination for the next ten years to puritanised England; and the influence of that Puritan *regime* has deeply impregnated for two centuries the religion, worship, art, habits, manners, and amusements of the Scottish people. England, the birthplace of Puritanism, passed by a sudden rebound from the austerity of the Commonwealth to the laxity and frivolity of the Restoration, until it finally settled down into a sober medium between the extremes. Scotland is but slowly recovering from the mixed influences of the seventeenth century, and in the transitional state of our present-day religion only a long-sighted seer can forecast what the final outcome shall be.

In January 1652 Monk and Lambert were joined by Oliver St. John and Harry Vane, as "Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for ordering and managing of the affairs of Scotland." They lived in moderate state in Dalkeith castle; and on the 4th February issued their first proclamation announcing the powers committed to them for the establishment of order and good government by means of Courts of Law

throughout the country. It was no vain declaration. Scotland was better governed during the ten years of the Commonwealth than during any other decade of that century. The self-seeking tyrannical nobility and the arrogant presbyteries had both found a master who compelled them to keep their place and the peace.

At the Assembly of July 1652, held in Edinburgh under Dickson as moderator,[1] sixty-five of the Protesters whose leaders' names are now familiar—Rutherford, Cant, Gillespie, Guthrie—joined by Warriston, entered the usual protest against the lawfulness of the Assembly. They were always protesting by speech or document against some person or thing, and they now took the unusual step of appealing to the English government for help against the Assembly on the ground of their common hatred to "Charles Stuart, styled king." The Assembly threatened them with the terrors of ecclesiastical discipline unless they withdrew their protest. The Protesters' application was highly suggestive, and afforded a reasonable pretext to Cromwell for dealing with an Assembly which had fallen from its original status as a spiritual court, and had now degenerated into a political conclave dangerous alike to civil and religious liberty.

Cromwell resolved to take the Assembly in hand. It met again in Edinburgh on the 20th July 1653, under Dickson, the previous moderator. At the close of the opening prayer[2] colonel Cotterel appeared in the church, after having surrounded it with musketeers and cavalry, and asked the moderator by whose authority they were convened, whether of the Commonwealth Parliament, or of the commander-in-chief of the English forces, or of the

[1] He became professor of Divinity at Edinburgh in 1650.—Dalziel's *Hist. of University*, ii. 156.

[2] The description of the scene that followed is from Baillie, an eye-witness.—*Letters*, iii. 225, 226.

English judges in Scotland? Dickson answered that they were an ecclesiastical synod, a spiritual court of Jesus Christ that meddled not with anything civil, and that their authority was from God. The disavowal of intermeddling with civil affairs must have been as amusing to the Cromwellian officer then as it is to the historical student now. However, the soldier had not come to argue but to act, and his action was to clear them out of the place and out of the city. They began to protest against "this unheard-of and unexampled violence," but there was no arguing with musketeers and cavalry. Man by man they had to file out into the street, and were then conveyed through the West Port under military escort a mile out of town to the Bruntsfield Links. Here Cotterel stopped them, and after taking a list of their names, solemnly forbade them ever to meet again. The Assembly met no more for many years.

The dispersion of the Assembly by military force was regarded with mixed feelings by the Scottish people. The Royalists rejoiced in it as the due reward of their tyranny; the Protesters were still more jubilant at the overthrow of their adversaries who had cast them, the saints, out of the synagogue; the mass of the people were probably indifferent, as the Assembly had for years ceased to command, what it once commanded, some measure of respect for its defence of constitutional privileges. There were others, like honest Baillie, who grieved over the fallen Assembly with all its faults. "Our hearts are sad," he writes, "our eyes run down with water, we sigh to God against whom we have sinned, and wait for the help of His hand; but from those who oppressed us we deserve no evil." Baillie forgot that his "oppressors," once their covenanted brothers, now called Sectaries, were English Independents who regarded popery, prelacy, and

presbytery as three different growths from the same root of error.[1]

Kirkton, the Covenanting historian,[2] gives a rosy description of the state of religion and morals at this time, contrary to that of every contemporary writer, and to what may be conceived as likely in the midst of civil war and social disintegration. "Then was Scotland," he says, "a heap of wheat set about with lilies, uniform; or a palace of silver beautifully proportioned, and this seems to have been Scotland's high noon." Principal Lee,[3] a witness for Presbytery, of which he was an ornament, says of Kirkton's picture: "Unless I were to believe that the whole of the records of the Church courts that I have examined were fabrications, I must really look upon Kirkton's description as being something very extravagant—I would almost say a romance."[4]

The government of the Church by session, presbytery, and synod continued as before; and the bitterness between Resolutioners and Protesters did not abate. While the Resolutioners were in the majority, the Protesters were the popular favourites from their ecstatic style of preaching and praying. Baillie, not very partial to this school, describes their style, which, he says, amazed him, as "a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonising out of the belly of a second person."[5] To these hysteric prayers the people responded by spasmodic sighs and groans which resounded through the church. It was at this period that the Protesters

[1] Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.* chap. i.

[2] *History*, pp. 48-65.

[3] *Lectures on Ch. of Scot.* ii. 443-448.

[4] For confirmations of Lee's estimate see Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 59, 60; Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 249-252; Monk's Letter from Scotland to Richard Cromwell, September 1658, cited by Burton, vii. 67; and Letter from English soldier resident in Scotland, date September 1650, in Scot. Hist. Society, vol. xvii. 134-140, ed. by Gardiner.

[5] *Letters*, iii. 245.

instituted the fast-day before the Communion, and the multiplicity of sermons before and after "the Sacrament Sabbath" to crowds drawn from neighbouring parishes. They also began the practice of monthly communions, but not seldom the half of the intending communicants were cut off for what was called defection; and sometimes from the same cause there was no celebration at all.

Something had to be done to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, and to check the bitter contentions of Resolutioner and Protester. The Protesters, republicans at heart, stood nearer to Cromwell's platform; but, while they hated Charles Stuart and monarchy, they were not less opposed to all interference of the civil power in the spiritual domain of the Church. Cromwell, in the summer of 1654, summoned the leaders of both parties to a conference with him in London. He found the Resolutioners the more tractable, and the diplomatic abilities of one of their number, James Sharp, helped to commend them to the Protector. Of Sharp he had closer acquaintance in after years, when he bestowed upon him an epithet which has stuck to him like a thistle-burr—"Sharp of *that* ilk." The outcome of the conference was an ordinance dividing Scotland into five districts, and appointing over each a mixed tribunal of clergy and others, entrusted with the power of admitting or ejecting ministers, so far as the possession of church, manse, and stipend was concerned. It was a tribunal as absolute as any High Court of Commission set up by the Stuarts, and was in little favour with either party. But Cromwell did not bear the sword in vain, and compelled Church as well as State to respect his authority. The little finger of the Protector could be as heavy as the monarch's hand when occasion required.[1]

A conference was held at Edinburgh in November,

[1] Baillie, iii. 253, 282; Lee's *Lectures*, ii. 376.

1655, to effect an accommodation between the two factions, and Blair, who had hitherto been neutral, acted as mediator. The result was a further estrangement, chiefly due to the opposition of two extreme Protesters, Warriston and Guthrie the minister. In 1656 the Resolutioners sent Sharp to London to use his influence with Cromwell to have their rivals prevented from thrusting their nominees upon every vacant parish. A deputation of the leading Protesters, Warriston, Gillespie, and Guthrie, immediately followed Sharp; and the Protector experienced, not for the first time, that the most obstinate and intractable subjects in all his Commonwealth were the refractory ministers from Scotland. Their unreasonableness and mutual intolerance were such that all his diplomacy failed to bring them to terms, and so, yielding to the arguments of Sharp, he at last took sides with the Resolutioners. Henceforth the two factions became confirmed foes, more embittered in mutual dislike than were the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. A writer of the times says that they regarded each other "rather as of different religions than of different persuasions about things which were not fundamental."[1]

The Episcopalians had no separate existence as a body during these troubles. The intolerance of the Covenants had removed many of the clergy episcopally ordained, and had driven some of them into exile; and the same intolerance would certainly have prevented the formation of separate congregations had the Episcopalians ventured on that step. If they had done so there would have been in Scottish Church history a prelude of the bitter persecutions which disgraced the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother. Whether it is a reproach to

[1] *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 329-334, 336; Baillie, iii. 266-273, 330-355, and 568-573.

them that they did not assume this bolder attitude, defy the Solemn League and Covenant, and endure persecution if necessary, we shall not presume to say. The case of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, an Episcopalian,[1] who appealed to the commander of the English troops at Aberdeen, in 1652, for protection from its presbytery, is an example of what resistance to the Covenants entailed. Irvine said to the presbytery—"I wish to God you would remember how much ye cried out against the tyranny of bishops, when they were urging some of your number who were refractory to Episcopacy, that there should be had some regard to tender consciences which were of another judgment. But so soon as ye got the power into your hands, neither minister nor laird, man, woman, nor child, was spared, nor any regard had unto them, whatever quality or condition they were of; all were forced not only to obey you, but (which is the greatest point of tyranny over men's consciences) they were made to swear that they thought as you would have them, albeit to your own knowledge many thought the contrary." As a matter of history, Episcopalians were commonly numbered among the Resolutioners, the Moderates of that day, few of whom deemed that either Presbytery or Episcopacy was of divine right. This has to be borne in mind when we reach the next stage, not far off, the establishment of Episcopacy for the second time in Scotland since the Reformation.

The military conquest of Scotland brought new religionists into the country. The soldiers, judges, commissioners, and other English officials, by whom the government was now administered, were mostly Puritans, many of them zealous propagandists, who made and left their mark upon the religion of the Scottish people.

[1] Grub, iii. 164, 165.

What was discussed in courts and in garrisons came to be talked over in the burgh towns and in the homes of the peasantry. Scotland was thus made familiar with the names of Independents, Brownists, Separatists, Sectaries, Cross-Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Cross-Petitioners, Barbartaries, Quakers, Anabaptists — an uncouth nomenclature which doubtless contains what logicians call cross divisions.[1]

There was still another religious Community, once dominant, now fallen, living on lines apart, yet not sufficiently apart to escape notice and persecution. Whether under the monarchy, or under the commonwealth, the fate of the papist was to suffer. No change of government brought any change in the laws which persecuted him for his creed. The tolerance of Cromwell would not tolerate him any more in Scotland than in Ireland; and even Charles the First was not blameless as a persecutor of the Romanists, though he had married a Roman Catholic wife. They were forbidden to send their children abroad for the education they could not receive at home; they were frequently cited before the Privy Council; the prisons were seldom without some priest as a confessor for his faith; and even the laity suffered, as, for example, lady Abercorn, who was imprisoned, to the ruin of her health, for three years in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. In 1633 pope Urban VIII. addressed a letter to queen Henrietta entreating her intervention in behalf of the distressed Scottish Romanists. The Jesuit Mambrecht had been sentenced to death a few years before and his death-warrant signed by Charles, when, at the queen's intervention, the sentence was cancelled.

There were few secular Roman priests in Scotland at

[1] See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 60.

this period, not more than five or six, but the regular orders, Jesuits chiefly, with occasional visits of Capuchins, Benedictines, Franciscans, Lazarists—the last order sent by St. Vincent de Paul—ministered intermittently to the scattered remnant of Roman Catholics. Father Mambrecht, writing in 1640, and again in 1641, gives a vivid description of their sufferings. In spite of persecution they recovered and reconciled to the Roman faith over two thousand people in the Hebrides, while the numbers reconciled in the Highlands of the mainland are estimated at more than ten thousand. Any one travelling in those districts will find evidence even now of the truth of these statements. The priests baptized, married, communicated the people, travelling from place to place over moor and loch, by sea and land, enduring many hardships. They laboured long under a special disadvantage. There was no bishop to superintend the scattered flock, to give the seal of confirmation to the baptized, to ordain candidates for the ministry. A prefect with episcopal rank had been promised, but though Rome was not unmindful of the flock in the wilderness, and aided them in various ways, spiritual and temporal, still no Roman bishop was appointed for Scotland till the close of the seventeenth century.[1]

Cromwell died on 3rd September 1658. The day on which he had twice defeated his enemies, the Scots, was the day on which the last enemy overtook him. His feeble son Richard assumed the title of Protector for a brief period, and was then glad to retire into the private life for which he was better fitted. The three kingdoms were united in the common desire for a restoration of the monarchy. Ireland had no reason to bless the protectorate. Cromwell had left his bloody mark on Erin's green isle,

[1] For authorities see Bellesheim, iv. 1-88 *passim*.

and his memory a legacy of hatred in nearly every Irishman's breast. Scotland, notwithstanding the civil and commercial blessings she owed to his government, was getting restive under his iron rule. The brethren could not, as in the palmy days of the Covenant, bite and devour one another under the toleration enforced by Cromwell, which they denounced as "a deadly and damnable sin." The delirium of England at the Restoration is evidence that the loyalty of its people was only suppressed, not extinguished, by the strong man armed. The memory of King Charles's tragic death, the abolition of constitutional government, the overthrow of the Anglican Church and the penalties imposed upon its members, who were the bulk of the nation, for the profession of their religion—so inconsistent with the Protector's avowal of toleration—all contributed to the reaction in favour of monarchy in England.

General Monk's position at the head of an armed force in Scotland gave him an exceptional advantage as arbiter in the nation's destiny. In November 1659 he marched south with his army—Sharp meeting him at Coldstream and writing the proclamation made by the General—to decide the issues of government, as the Pretorian Guard used to decide it in the days of imperial Rome. The result was the recall of Charles II. to the throne.

Sharp had been sent as envoy to Cromwell from the Resolutioners in 1658, when Baillie describes him as "that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp, the great instrument of God in crossing the evil designs of the Remonstrants." Sharp was again in London during the protectorate of Richard Cromwell, still seeking to circumvent the rival Protesters. The sudden turn of events soon brought another and an older rival into the field—Episcopacy. In the beginning of

February 1660, Douglas, Dickson, and the other leaders, "Resolutioner bishops," met in Edinburgh and deputed the diplomatic Sharp as their delegate to Monk. He reported regularly to Douglas, "the man most respected of all," as Baillie honourably entitles him. On the 31st March Douglas wrote to Sharp regretting "that a generation had arisen in Scotland unacquainted with the work of the Reformation, and consequently disposed to condemn even the Covenant itself, to which they bore a heart hatred;" and again, on the 26th April, he complains that "the generality of this new upstart generation have no love to Presbyterial government, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy or moderate Episcopacy." Sharp was then busy interviewing Monk, members of Parliament, and Presbyterian ministers in London. Early in May he went to the king at Breda. While Douglas was urging Sharp to press on the king the covenanted uniformity of religion between the two nations, Sharp had to report, what was the sober truth, that the tide of Episcopacy had already begun to overflow England. As yet there was no hint that the tide might flow farther; but all depended, said Sharp, upon the king's humour. The Resolutioners now began to moderate their demands. Episcopacy might do for England—that was the business of the English Presbyterians, as Douglas remarked—but Scotland must have her Covenants.[1]

On the 29th May 1660 Charles entered London, and on the 19th June Edinburgh followed the southern capital in its rejoicings over the King's Restoration. It was celebrated with bonfires and barrels of wine, and with the exhibition of an effigy of Cromwell pursued by an effigy of the devil, the former being finally blown into the air from the Castle hill, to the delight of some thousands of

[1] Wodrow, *History* i. 4-54.

spectators. The historic Janet Geddes figured on this festive occasion at a bonfire near the Tron church, burning her "chair of state and all her creels, baskets, creepies, and furms." The other Scottish towns followed the lead of the metropolis in their manifestations of loyalty.

The thread of negotiations was resumed in London. On the 14th June Sharp had an interview with Charles, at which the king expressed his intention to preserve the established ecclesiastical order in Scotland, and to call an Assembly as soon as public affairs would permit. On 31st August Sharp returned to Scotland, bringing a letter from the king addressed to Douglas, to be communicated to the Edinburgh presbytery, which met on 3rd September. The king said in this letter—"We do resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably." He also promised to call an Assembly and to send for Douglas and other ministers to confer with them on ecclesiastical affairs. The presbytery rejoiced, and ordered the royal letter to be enshrined in a silver box, and copies of it to be sent to all the presbyteries in Scotland. The Protesters had no faith in the letter, and told the Resolutioners they were bad grammarians to take the king's infinitive mood for the indicative. The sequel showed that they were right in their mistrust of the king.[1]

The marquis of Argyll, who had gone to London in July to congratulate the king on his restoration, was seized and committed to the Tower. Orders were sent to apprehend other leading Protesters, including Warriston, who made his escape to France. The government was meanwhile entrusted to the committee of the Estates that had

[1] Kirkton, p. 75.

been appointed in 1651, the earls of Glencairn, Crawford, and Lauderdale being made respectively chancellor, treasurer, and secretary. General Middleton was nominated royal commissioner to the Parliament about to be summoned, and was created an earl for the occasion. He was a rough soldier of fortune, who had served under both the covenanting and the royalist flags, and was as destitute of political capacity as he was of moral principle. The committee met in Edinburgh on the 23rd August, and on the same day twelve of the leading Protesters, including Guthrie and Gillespie, framed what they called a "Supplication" to the king. It was couched in their usual dictatorial language, calling upon the king to "extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition," and so on—to fill all offices of trust in the three kingdoms with none but Covenanters—and to take away the ceremonies and Service Book from his own chapel and other places of his dominions. The committee arrested the Protesters, and warded them in the castle. Imagining that they had now the king and the government on their side, the Resolutioners proceeded to depose a number of the more violent Protesting ministers in several districts.[1]

On the 1st January 1661 Parliament was opened by Middleton with a full house, and was busy passing Acts until the 12th July. It framed a new oath of allegiance requiring all members of Parliament, and persons holding offices of State, to acknowledge the king to be supreme over all persons and in all causes. It passed almost unanimously, on the 28th March, the famous Rescissory Act, which at one stroke repealed the legislation of the previous twenty-one years. This summary process of rescinding was similar to that adopted by the Glasgow

1 Wodrow's *Hist.* i. 62-83; Baillie, iii. 446; Blair's *Life*, p. 357; Lamont's *Diary*, p. 158; Kirkton, p. 75.

Assembly in 1638, when it established the Presbyterian Church. By the Rescissory Act Presbytery ceased to be the polity of the Church, and Episcopacy was consequently restored to its former position as by law established. The nobles had now less reason to fear that any demand would be made upon them for the restitution of the episcopal lands, and their recent experiences made them welcome monarchy in the hope of repairing their shattered fortunes. A statute was passed at the same time, declaring the king's intention "to settle the government of the Church in such a frame as should be most agreeable to the Word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom; and in the meantime permitting the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods." Nothing was said of the General Assembly, which did not meet for thirty years to come.[1]

One Scottish nobleman, prominent in many Parliaments, had no place in this—the marquis of Argyll. He was brought from the Tower in a ship of war to the castle of Edinburgh at the close of 1660, and in the February following was arraigned before Parliament for high treason. There was no denying many of the fourteen charges in his indictment, but most of them were as true of other statesmen, Monk, Middleton, and many more, as of Argyll; and it would have been well had even his treason been covered by the general Act of indemnity. Besides, even if the king had had no other cause for gratitude, his coronation at Scone by the hands of Argyll deserved a different reward. On the 25th May, when sentenced to death as a traitor, Argyll said quietly, "I had the honour to set the crown upon the king's head, and now he hastens me away to a better crown than his own." The marquis

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* vii. 3-367, and App. pp. 59, 78, 79, 81.

had entirely lost both his former popularity among his supporters and his immense wealth—the latter in ways not accounted for by historians. "Drowned in debt and obloquy" is the painful description of his closing years. The prospect of death seems to have given him a fortitude which he seldom showed in the battle-field of life. He was beheaded on the 27th May, and on his way to the scaffold he remarked—"I could die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian."[1]

Another victim was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, one of the most fanatical of the Protesters. He was the author of a seditious pamphlet called "The Causes of God's Wrath," and was otherwise obnoxious to the charge of treason. On these grounds he was condemned to be hanged on the 1st of June. One may have no sympathy with fanaticism like Guthrie's, but the vindictive spirit of the government is much more to be condemned. A man less known, named Govan, was hanged at the same time as Guthrie. He was accused of having been on the scaffold when Charles I. was beheaded, but this was not proved. What was proved was his presence in arms among the Remonstrants of the west, and for this he suffered. Middleton himself had been in arms against monarchy. "The commissioner and I," said the doomed man under the gibbet, "went out to the fields together for one cause. I have now the cord about my neck, and he is promoted to be his majesty's commissioner, yet for a thousand worlds I would not change lots with him." Warriston was also sentenced to death, and afterwards brought from France and executed. Rutherford was summoned before Parliament to answer for his treason, but on the 29th March he went to a higher tribunal. He had been

[1] *State Trials*, v. 1370-1507; Crookshank's *History Ch. Scot.* i. 81-90; Wodrow, i. 130-158; Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, pp. 34-47.

deprived of his office as principal of St. Mary's college in St. Andrews, and his democratic treatise *Lex Rex* was burned there by the public hangman. Another Protester, Patrick Gillespie, who had been principal of Glasgow University, and a thorn in the flesh to Baillie, who now succeeded him, saved himself by humiliating retractations.[1]

Such were the reprisals for twenty years' merciless oppression under the Covenants. That there were some is hardly to be wondered at; that there were any is much to be deplored.

The different synods met and discussed the new ecclesiastical situation under the Rescissory Act. Those in the south and west protested, some mildly, others more strongly, against the setting up again of "prelatic Episcopacy"; while in the north, where the Covenants had never been popular, the great body of the people welcomed its restoration. The synod of Aberdeen petitioned the king to settle the ecclesiastical government "according to the Word of God and the practice of the ancient primitive Church, in such a way as might be most consistent with the royal authority, and most conducive to godliness, unity, peace, and order."[2]

On 5th September 1661 there was laid before the Scottish Privy Council a letter from the king, in which he referred to his previous communication to the presbytery of Edinburgh, dated August 1660. In that earlier letter the king's word was pledged to maintain "the government of the Church as settled by law," which on any fair construction meant the Presbyterian Church; and it is difficult to understand why a reference was made to the letter now when he was violating his solemn engagement under it.

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* vii. 34 *seq.*; Wodrow, *Hist.* i. 159-196, 204-217; Baillie, iii. 447; Lamont's *Diary*, p. 159; *Life of Blair*, p. 336.

[2] Wodrow, *Hist.* i. 109-130; Baillie, iii. 458-460; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 333; Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 167-168.

If he had found reasons for changing his policy, those reasons should have been honestly stated; but to refer to his previous pledge, as if he were now honourably redeeming it, was to insult his Presbyterian subjects, to shake public confidence in his sincerity, and to prejudice the country against the Episcopal polity. Many things show that a moderate constitutional Episcopacy never had a chance in Scotland under the Stuarts, and the action of Charles II. on this occasion is one of them. There will appear too many other circumstances, that point the same moral, in the dismal and deplorable history of the next thirty years.[1]

[1] Cook, iii. 230; and for Sharp's correspondence see Wodrow's Introduction to *History of the Sufferings*, and the Lauderdale Papers. Many of Sharp's Letters in 1660-1661 are to Mr. Patrick Drummond, a minister in London. See Article in *North British Review*, June 1867, on the correspondence.

# CHAPTER XVI

## CHARLES II.—FROM RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY, 1661 TO 1670

Policy adopted in selecting the bishops—Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton—Their history and character—Ordination of two and consecration of the four in Westminster—Welcome of the bishops in Edinburgh—Filling of other sees—Parliament ratifies establishment of Episcopal Church—Bishops take their seats in Parliament—Collation to benefices by bishops—Meeting of diocesan synods—Style of worship in Episcopal Church established—Removal of non-conforming ministers—Character of their substitutes, the "curates"—Dr. Burnet, bishop of Aberdeen—Rivalry of Middleton and Lauderdale—Middleton superseded by Rothes—Severe Act of Parliament, the "Mile Act," against outed ministers—New bishops—High Court of Commission set up—Persecution of Covenanters—Leighton's pacific policy—Gilbert Burnet, the historian—His charges against the bishops—Leighton in Dunblane—Covenanters goaded into insurrection—Fight at Rullion Green—Hanging and banishment of Covenanters—Overtures for conciliation—Attempt on the primate's life—Embitterment of Covenanters against the primate—Indulgences offered, 1667, 1669—Archbishop Burnet and the Covenanters—Burnet in trouble with Privy Council, and Sharp with the Parliament—Assertory Act—Expulsion of archbishop Burnet.

THE next step, after the re-establishment of Episcopacy, was the selection of ministers for the bishoprics. Sydserf was the only survivor of the old succession, and he could not be overlooked, were it only as a link of continuity with the episcopate of James's reign. He was not reinstated in Galloway, his former see, but appointed to Orkney, which had now the advantage of being better endowed than

many of the Scottish bishoprics.[1] The question is said to have been raised whether or not the other sees should be filled by clergymen who had consistently adhered to Episcopacy during the Covenants. That policy, at all events, was not adopted. Ministers chosen chiefly from the Resolutioners were to be the rulers of the Scottish Church. The plan was as plausible as eventually it proved unsuccessful. No doubt fourteen men could have been found among the Resolutioners with qualifications for the Episcopal office that would have commanded the respect of the country, and might in time have won the confidence of the moderate Presbyterians. But such men were not likely to be found—at least few such were found—by the dark lantern of the king's prerogative.

James Sharp, minister of Crail, was appointed to the primacy; Andrew Fairfoul, minister of Duns, to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow; James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan, to Galloway; and Robert Leighton, principal of Edinburgh University, to Dunblane. These nominations were made towards the close of the year 1661, the writ for Sharp's appointment to St. Andrews passing the great seal on the 14th of November. The other sees were filled in the following year.

Leighton and Sharp were as different in temperament and character as any two men could be. They were the light and shade of the new episcopate. Other considerations apart, they were both able men, with natural gifts and learning which would have won them a prominent place in the hierarchy of any Church.[2] The same cannot be said of their two colourless compeers. Hamilton was

[1] Some of the English sees were each worth in emoluments all the Scottish sees put together, barely £5000 a year.

[2] Sharp had a distinguished University career, became regent of St. Leonards, minister of Crail, and professor of divinity in St. Mary's college, St. Andrews.

neither learned nor brilliant, but he was the brother of lord Belhaven, which probably accounts for his ecclesiastical elevation, as similar reasons have accounted for preferments in other times and sees. Fairfoul's appointment has no explanation, and his feeble administration of the western arch-diocese only increases the wonder how he got there.[1] He had a reputation for facetiousness, which the serious-minded Leighton thought sometimes out of season. The reproach thrown at him for having signed the Covenant against his conscience he parried with the jest that "there were some very good medicines which must be swallowed at once without being chewed."[2]

Sharp's is one of the most debatable characters in history—"the bishop of debate." He has been blackened and whitened and blackened again until the process seems interminable. A dispassionate examination of the evidence leaves him, in the writer's judgment, neither so black nor so white as he has been painted. He never at any time appears a lovable man, though honest Baillie loved, admired, and trusted him as long as he deserved to be trusted, and perhaps a little longer. The evidence points to his having been a worldly-minded and ambitious ecclesiastic, a dexterous diplomatist, fertile in resources nicely calculated to one end—the advancement of James Sharp. This is not the material out of which to make saint or martyr, or even a respectable bishop.[3] But, admitting

[1] Kirkton has a good word for his scholarship, and coming from that quarter it may be credited.

[2] Burnet's *History*, i. 146.

[3] Dr. Grub in the interleaved copy of his *History* remarks—"Among the ministers the feelings were various so far as opposed to the Covenant. Some like Leighton and his friends disliked it, and thought Episcopacy would protect them from its tyranny. Some like Sharp and Honeyman acted on mixed motives of dislike to the Covenant and personal ambition. Many like Fairfoul never liked it, but were indifferent. Others like Ramsay and Scougal were ready to become sincere converts to Episcopacy, and others like the majority of the Aberdeen synod now openly avowed the principles they had always held."

so much, it is still a long way from the conclusion that he was a double-dyed traitor, the Judas of the Presbyterian cause, which is the verdict of one class of historians.[1] Sharp was one of the Resolutioners, the moderate school of that day, which comprised the majority of Presbyterians and many Episcopalians; and few among them had any decided opinions as to the divine right of either Presbytery or Episcopacy. With most of them Church government was a question not of principle but of expediency. This has to be remembered in the case of Sharp as well as of Leighton, who, at least in his early days, held on this subject the same lax views, as many would now regard them. Sharp was the more pronounced Presbyterian of the two, as shown by his stickling for the validity of Presbyterian orders at Westminster, when the more liberal Leighton agreed without any scruple to be ordained deacon and priest before his consecration. It is true that Sharp, when delegate for the Presbyterians, repeatedly wrote, as the cause of Presbytery became less and less promising, that he hoped Episcopacy would not be imposed upon Scotland. And it is equally clear that so long as the battle was not hopeless he fought honestly for Presbyterianism; and there is, moreover, good reason for believing that it was chiefly his advocacy which postponed the settlement of Church polity for a whole year. He was not the man, however, to champion a lost cause, and sacrifice himself in its ruins; but it is more than the evidence warrants to say that he betrayed his trust, or that any other person in his place could have saved Presbyterianism at the Restoration.

Up to this point Sharp's conduct can be vindicated as sincere and consistent. Beyond this, it seems im-

[1] See Dr. Cunningham's *Hist. Ch. Scot.* ii. 217; and Dr. Rankin, *Church of Scot.* ed. Story, ii. 546.

JULY 75
N. MANCHESTER